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EDITORIAL

UNREALITY PRINCIPLE

The President's sober Memorial Day address announcing his willingness to talk with the Russians—if taken at face value—is a remarkable turnaround in both tone and substance. The nuclear disarmament movement should take its share of the credit for that statement without letting up the pressures that helped to create it.

Thus it is doubly disconcerting to learn of an appalling "defense guidance" document just leaked to *The New York Times* indicating the Pentagon has, in all seriousness, drawn up a policy blueprint that plans for a "protracted" nuclear war with the Soviet Union *as a strategic necessity*.

There's been reason all along to be suspicious of Caspar Weinberger's sanity—at times he can even make Al Haig seem dovish. But this latest evidence suggests a breakdown not unlike that of his postwar predecessor, James Forrestal.

What seems at work in the Pentagon is a strange and quite dangerous refusal to think seriously about, as we used to say, "the unthinkable," to face squarely the kind of catastrophe a nuclear war—*any* nuclear war—must bring. The generals can somehow plan grand strategies for a war without ever considering what, in fact, *happens* in war.

Those who do not want to think about reality try to shield themselves from it. Thus the State Department has gone and denied visas to 300 Japanese citizens who had planned to attend next week's U.N. disarmament session. No reason was given for barring the Japanese—including representatives of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki survivors—but presumably the government doesn't wish to confront such a vivid reminder of humankind's only nuclear reality.

Many centuries ago the appropriate sentiment for our age was written in the Upanishads: "Lead me from the unreal to the real; lead me from darkness to light." Washington, please copy.

SPECIAL SECTION: AN ANTINUKE CALENDAR

GERMANY'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
Norman Birnbaum

THE C.I.A. AND CHILE
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A LETTER FROM THE GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENT

MIDDLETOWN: ON FILM, IN LIFE
Richard Lingeman

THE NEXT 'ENERGY CRISIS'

WATER, WATER, RUNNING OUT

FRED POWLEDGE

The United States has entered a period of grave crisis over both the quality and the quantity of its water. And though that crisis is duplicated elsewhere, and not only, as one might expect, among the highly industrialized regions, it is here that it is likely to be felt with particular intensity.

Americans, to a degree inconceivable to many of the world's other inhabitants, are accustomed to having unlimited supplies of inexpensive, clean water at their immediate disposal. It is almost always there whenever we turn on a tap, whether we want it for drinking, for bathing, for irrigating our farmland or our backyards or our windowsill herb gardens, for running our factories or washing our cars, or even just for looking at, in public fountains. We can, and often do, allow a gallon or so of pure drinking water to run down the drain while we brush our teeth, and we think nothing of it.

But just as we awoke one morning a few years ago to the realization that energy was no longer cheap, and never again would be, now we are about to awake to the understanding that water, in the forms we require and of the quality and quantities we desire, is no longer a "free good" to be taken and used with hardly a second thought, and almost certainly will never be again.

Some of what we have come to count among our basic liberties—the farmer's right to cultivate what he wants, with the technical and financial assistance of government; the politician's right to produce income for his supporters, and thus to extract loyalty from them, by bringing home expensive public-works water projects of arguable value; the individual's right to set up housekeeping anyplace in the nation,

(*Continued on Page 714*)

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LETTERS.

COVERING DISARMAMENT

North Hollywood, Calif.

Congratulations to Richard Pollak on his article about the press and disarmament ["Covering the Unthinkable," *The Nation*, May 1]. There is, however, one outlet that has been giving coverage to the peace and disarmament movement, and that is Pacifica Radio with its five affiliates—KPFK Los Angeles, KPFA Berkeley, WBAI New York City, WPFW Washington, D.C., and KPFT Houston. Since 1949 these noncommercial, listener-sponsored stations have been in the forefront of alternative broadcasting, with a special emphasis on peace between all nations.

At KPFK we have held day-long Peace Festivals for the last two years during Easter week. These programs have featured such antiwar leaders as Daniel Ellsberg, E. P. Thompson, Roy Medvedev, retired Adm. Gene LaRoque and others. Our weekly schedule includes at least twenty hours of peace-related programming.

Not only was Pacifica Radio the only broadcast outlet to cover the recent hearings held by Representative Ron Dellums on the implications of the military budget but it broadcast the entire proceedings on the Public Radio Satellite System, thereby making the sessions available to more than 200 radio stations throughout the United States.

Pacifica Radio will also be present at the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament. For an entire week preceding the session KPFK will pre-empt its regular schedule and will devote all of its programming, twenty-four hours around the clock, to the question of peace and survival in the nuclear age. And when hundreds of thousands gather in New York City for the June 12 nuclear freeze rally, Pacifica will once again broadcast the entire event via satellite, linking up intermittently with the demonstration taking place in San Francisco.

Clare Spark, Program Director
Marc Cooper, News Director
KPFK

WHITHER POLISH RESISTANCE?

Warsaw

Jacek Kuron's letter from prison ["'We Must Move to Resistance,'" *The Nation*, May 8] was first printed in the Warsaw underground weekly *Tygodnik Mazowsze* of March 31, together with critical replies from two union leaders in hiding. It is important to avoid the impression that Kuron's views are representative of the new Polish opposition. Indeed, I have yet to meet or hear anyone here who shares Kuron's sanguine views on the possibility, not to mention the desirability, of a centralized struggle against the military authorities.

Zbigniew Bujak, the Warsaw Solidarity leader who now heads the underground opposition, strongly opposes Kuron's proposals for such a struggle to smash the dictatorship in a united uprising. He terms this an "unrealistic" program because of the "military-police structure of the state, which is well-adapted to liquidate precisely such organizations." But Bujak's differences with Kuron are more than technical: "An uprising now won't solve any of the problems facing us. Rather the opposite: it would pose the grave threat of a particularly brutal use of force by the authorities, as well as of outside intervention." In place of a centralized opposition Bujak calls for "a strongly decentralized movement, applying various methods of struggle. Only this kind of movement—undefined, diverse and elusive—will be difficult to defeat." Bujak concludes, "We must pass through all stages of the struggle before we stand on the final stage."

Another union leader in hiding, Wiktor Kulerski, also criticizes Kuron in the same publication. He begins by raising perhaps the key question: "What if the authorities consider economic regress and social unrest to be less costly than compromise?" Kulerski says the choice for society is not, as Kuron would have it, between revolution and resignation. He offers a "third possibility: the slow disintegration of the system along with gradual changes leading to society regaining influence over its own fate." Such changes require "not so much the creation of an Underground State, but rather the organization of an Underground Society. Therefore we need not a central nucleus demanding full discipline, but rather a many-centered, decentralized, informal, loose collection of independent groups with a great deal of freedom to make their own decisions." Such a movement could lead to a situation where "the authorities will control empty stores, but not the marketplace; employment of workers, but not their means of survival; state publications, but not the flow of information; the post office and telephones, but not private communication; the school system, but not education." In this way only "the police and a handful of collaborators" will remain loyal to the state, and the way will be open to a compromise guaranteeing society democratic rights and participation at policy-making levels.

As in almost all the resistance literature, the emphasis here is on demonstrating to the authorities the total opposition of society to the present system. The aim is to force a compromise through determined but unarmed resistance. Most Poles seem to agree with Kulerski that the creation of a national conspiratorial network, as Kuron has proposed, would "threaten either a premature uprising or a premature break-up of the opposition; in other words, a defeat which we cannot allow."

David Ost

OPEN LETTER FROM ISRAEL

Tel Aviv

In the past few weeks 19 people have been killed and over 200 have been wounded in the West Bank and Gaza by Israeli soldiers and, on occasion, by armed Israeli settlers. Most of the victims were boys and girls, schoolchildren demonstrating against the "rough-hand" policies introduced by the military authorities.

The claim of the military authorities that bullets have to be used against stone-throwing youngsters and that soldiers have to shoot to save their own lives does not withstand scrutiny. The same authorities proved, during the evacuation of the Sinai, that order can be restored and violent demonstrations dispersed without shedding a single drop of blood. Most disturbing is the absence of trials and punishment of the soldiers and settlers who abuse the orders of restraint and use firearms against unarmed Palestinians. In many cases, settlers who have been caught committing acts of violence against civilians were not brought to court. Those responsible for the abominable attack that maimed the Palestinian mayors have never been caught.

Those killed have sometimes been denied proper funeral services, and the injured have often been left unattended without medical aid because curfews in the area deny them access to hospitals. Many sections have been under curfew for days, preventing the inhabitants from obtaining the necessities of life.

The continuation of this cruel and repressive policy in dealing with demonstrations in the occupied territories can lead only to the dehumanization of Jewish-Arab relations, to the creation of an abyss of hatred that will make peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians impossible. What is no less dangerous and disturbing is that Israeli society itself will undergo a process of brutalization and erosion of its moral and human values—values of which the Jewish people are so proud.

Many Israelis have demonstrated against this bloodshed in recent weeks. Unfortunately, all protests in Israel are construed as part of the internal political struggle; political labels are too readily attached and the moral and social impact of such opposition is diminished.

We are confronted with a moral dilemma that goes to the heart of Judaism. Jews—throughout history and throughout the world—have had the proud tradition of defending human rights, national minorities, democracy and justice. Silence now on brutal acts against basic human rights taking place in the West Bank and Gaza will lower the morality of all Jewish people and may threaten the very integrity of the Jewish state.

The Editors, New Outlook

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EDITORIALS.

Up in Arms

There is still a British fleet sailing off the Falklands for one and only one reason: when the Argentines purchased their Exocet antiship missiles, they bought five instead of one hundred. Had they bought more, the British fleet would be lying on the bottom of the Atlantic, thousands of British soldiers and sailors would be dead, and all of Britain would be in mourning. It is a lesson that the Argentines—and all the other aspiring powers of the Third World—are not likely to forget for a long time to come.

Although it is still too early to see all of the implications of the Falklands crisis, one conclusion is clear: recent developments in weapons design and in the international arms trade have combined to produce a revolution in military science with potentially far-reaching results.

These two developments are the introduction of precision-guided munitions (PGMs)—"smart" bombs and missiles—with nearly 100 percent "kill probability," and the diffusion of these weapons via the arms trade to the once-powerless nations of the Third World. The first means that even limited encounters between two PGM-equipped armies are likely to result in very high levels of violence and bloodshed; the second, that this capability is now available to virtually every country on earth. Together, these two developments mean that the world is becoming an extremely dangerous place in which any "incident" like the Falklands crisis can trigger a violent and possibly catastrophic upheaval.

This conjunction has other implications that we are only beginning to appreciate.

First, the days of gunboat diplomacy are nearly at an end. For centuries, the major powers have used their naval superiority as an instrument of colonial conquest and, later, as an instrument of political domination. With the introduction of PGMs, however, even a small country with a tiny navy can defend itself against a vast armada of cruisers and

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aircraft carriers. It may take a while for this new reality to alter the hidebound thinking of traditional strategists, but it will soon become apparent that any attempt to copy Britain's tactics in the Falklands would prove almost suicidal.

Second, the construction of large, nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, as proposed by Navy Secretary John Lehman, is grotesquely insane. To defend these highly vulnerable white elephants, Lehman wants to build a $150-billion fleet of escorts, frigates, submarines and cruisers—even though all this protection could not guarantee that the carriers would last more than twenty-four hours in any serious encounter with a PGM-equipped adversary.

Third, the so-called "firebreak" between conventional and nuclear conflicts has all but disappeared. Because any war fought with PGMs is likely to result in high levels of death and destruction, the transition to nuclear warfare will appear more and more natural. Indeed, the chances are that a nuclear war will begin when a nuclear power, having intervened in a non-nuclear conflict that threatens to get out of control, uses nuclear weapons to prevent the annihilation of its expeditionary army. U.S. strategists have already admitted that such a scenario is likely in a war in the Middle East, and it is not hard to imagine how other encounters—say, a confrontation between the United States and Cuba—could quickly escalate into a nuclear conflict.

Only time will reveal all of the consequences of the current revolution in military affairs. But it is already obvious that the world's military environment has been altered profoundly and that any government that ignores this does so at its own peril. The Falklands conflict may provide only an imperfect picture of this new reality, but the outlines are there for all to read. If we are to prevent catastrophe, therefore, we must emphatically reject the dangerous and irresponsible strategies of the Reagan Administration and make control of the arms trade a priority second only to nuclear disarmament.

Crime Victims

Whatever crime may have been committed by the people charged with last year's Brink's robbery in Nyack, New York—no trial is scheduled and it will be several months before one is—the government authorities along the way seem to have been committing violations of their own. One need not comprehend the political motives of the robbery—if any—or condone the violence that accompanied it to feel a real concern for the fate of those who have been jailed in connection with it and for the constitutional liberties which have been trampled as a result.

The latest victim is Bernardine Dohrn, who was sent to jail in mid-May for contempt of court in refusing to furnish a handwriting sample to a grand jury investigating the Nyack case. Dohrn was of course part of the Weather Underground with Kathie Boudin and David Gilbert, who were arrested in Nyack, but as far as anyone can tell she had nothing to do with the robbery nor has she been arrested or charged with any crime. The government merely said it wanted a sample of her handwriting, and under provisions of the pernicious "use immunity" law put through in Nixon's day, anyone who refuses to cooperate with a grand jury after being given immunity goes to jail for as long as the grand jury sits—in this instance, up to eighteen months. There is no apparent reason for this demand—the F.B.I. must have bushels of examples of Dohrn's handwriting—and so it is only reasonable to conclude that this is an unconstitutional act of punishment against a person for holding a belief, rather than a legitimate judicial probe for needed evidence.

But Dohrn is not the only victim of government high-handedness. Sam Brown, one of the defendants, was beaten and badly injured inside the Rockland County jail by sheriff's officers, his lawyers charge. He was repeatedly questioned by F.B.I. agents without his lawyer there, though it is unlawful for the prosecution to interrogate a defendant without counsel present. And then he was transferred in secret from an upstate jail to the Metropolitan Correction Center, where, he says, he was beaten again and forced to make false statements.

Kathie Boudin's burden has been equally hard. Originally she was kept in isolation in a cell for all but one-and-a-half hours a day, denied eyeglasses though her sight was impaired and prevented from having contact with her 14-month-old child. When a Federal judge held these conditions to be "punitive and unconstitutional," the state prosecutor spirited her away to a different jail, where she has been kept in a special section with three other Brink's defendants separate from the rest of the prison population. This may mark the first time in this country that a woman with no history of prison misbehavior or attempted escapes, and not convicted of or even tried for a crime, has been subjected to these kinds of conditions.

We can conceive of no valid defense of the Brink's crime. Deploring it, however, does not relieve us of the obligation to criticize those government officials who would use it as an occasion to punish citizens for their unpopularity, their associations or their beliefs rather than as an occasion to serve the ends of justice. For not merely these victims but society itself suffers thereby.

The 'Repo' Game

Late on the afternoon of Monday, May 17, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York called together major Wall Street securities dealers to hear Chase Manhattan Bank confess that its client, Drysdale Government Securities, was unable to pay them some $160 million in interest due. On the surface it was just another business failure brought on by the current recession. Yet the Drysdale collapse may signal a more general instability in the country's financial markets.

Drysdale went bust after three months of trading in the obscure market for "repos"—security repurchase agreements. Some thirty banks and brokerages had lent govern-

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ment securities to Chase in return for cash; Chase had in turn lent the securities to Drysdale. Drysdale was apparently—even market professionals do not fully understand the intricacies of the deals in question—using its borrowed securities to parlay its roughly $30 million in capital into holdings estimated at as much as $4 billion. But when the semiannual interest date came up, the original holders, the thirty dealers, were entitled to the interest on the bonds—and Drysdale could not come through.

Chase disavowed all responsibility for the default, trying to palm off the loss—which may end up close to $300 million—on the hapless securities dealers that had trusted both Drysdale and Chase. And Drysdale's parent firm—Drysdale Securities Corporation—similarly disavowed all responsibility and claimed no further corporate connection with the bankrupt company, although the latter was universally recognized as a spinoff of Drysdale Securities. It also appears that insiders used prior information of the impending collapse to speculate against Chase's stock, which dropped by eight points in the aftermath of the Monday meeting.

Within twenty-four hours, Wall Street was panicky, the market for government securities was in turmoil and several leading brokerage houses seemed in danger. As fear and loathing spread, the Fed found itself with the classic choice of a lax regulator in an uncontrollable market. Either it could let Chase welsh on its debts, risking a major Wall Street collapse, or it could agree to bail out banks whose predicament was the result of their own greed and stupidity. It chose to do the latter, announcing its willingness to act "as a lender of last resort to assist the commercial banks in meeting unusual credit demands relating to market problems." Chase eventually agreed to make good on Drysdale's debts—pending the inevitable lawsuits—and the markets calmed down.

Reagan's "magic of the marketplace" is indeed a wonder to behold, and one might be tempted simply to sit back and enjoy the spectacle. Yet this latest marketplace magic raises some issues worth considering.

Today's exploding financial markets have made national control—or even comprehension—of the money supply nearly impossible. Repos are a good example. One of the methods the Fed is supposed to use to contract the money supply is to sell Treasury securities. The Fed gets ready money—which it thus removes from circulation—while purchasers of the securities get bonds they cannot use as cash. Or so say the textbooks. In the real world these days, a broker can turn in the securities to a bank and get a corresponding cash advance without forfeiting interest on the securities—and repos are currently running at about $146.7 billion a day. Financiers today rapidly and effectively find ways to evade and thus counteract every attempt to control them or the money supply.

Another lesson of the Drysdale affair is hardly new—financial markets will, given half a chance, drive themselves into crisis. Cutthroat competition, the potential for massive profits, unscrupulous dealers, unpredictable economic trends—all make future Drysdales certain. Wall Street panics do not *cause* depressions—the Crash of '29 only gave a push to an economy that was already tottering on the brink—but they can accelerate and exacerbate them. With nearly 10 million people out of work, our money has better things to do than finance and shelter the antics of Wall Street's glorified gamblers.

WAR GAME: WHITE HOUSE BOMBED

Sometime in March, more than 1,000 civilian and military members of the Reagan Administration, and at least two former high-level government officials, enacted a top-secret war game involving a theoretical nuclear attack on Washington, D.C.

According to the script of this exercise, on the fourth day of the crisis the President was killed at his desk in an underground bunker, the Situation Room beneath the White House. Upon the death of the President, acted in this simulation by former Secretary of State William P. Rogers, power was transferred to the Vice President aloft in a specially equipped Boeing 747, the National Emergency Airborne Command Post, popularly called the "Doomsday Plane." Former C.I.A. director Richard Helms starred as the flying Vice President.

When the Vice President was eliminated, power was transferred to other officials in the chain of command, first to a cabinet member in a secret facility in Massachusetts and then to another cabinet officer hidden in a facility in Texas. Fourth in line was a figure at a so-called "miniature White House" in a U.S. Embassy in Europe, to test what would happen if a high-level American official in the line of succession chanced to be in Europe when nuclear war occurred.

The simulated war game assumed a "worst case" scenario, with 5,000 megatons striking the United States (that's 5,000 million tons of TNT-equivalent in nuclear explosives), an amount with more than 250,000 times the power of the bomb that fell on Hiroshima. In other words, this means the equivalent of a *quarter million* Hiroshima bombs dropped on the United States.

Although the script projected the death of the President on the fourth day of the crisis, at the conclusion of the exercise Ronald Reagan expressed satisfaction with the result, observing that the test demonstrated that the United States could maintain continuity of government during a nuclear attack. As John J. Fialka reported in an account of the exercise in *The Wall Street Journal*, Reagan made a conference call to all of the command centers involved in the operation to declare: "While we pray to God that we will never have to use the procedures you have tested . . . the nation is better off for what has been done."

EDWARD L. ERICSON

Edward L. Ericson is the chairman of the Board of Leaders of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

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ITEM. ITEM. ITEM.

■ PENTAGON JAM SESSION

According to the April issue of *Omni*, the science fact/fiction slick, a Pentagon official fearful of radiation from the Russians sometimes carries around a jammer in his pocket for protection. Lt. Col. John Alexander told the magazine he carries an ELF generator, a transmitting device no bigger than a matchbook, to interfere with Russian ELF radiation, which, he says, is attempting to jam our brain signals.

This has nothing to do with little magical sprites, of course—or at least not necessarily. ELF stands for "extremely low frequency," and the kinds of rays that this cautious officer suspects the Russians of sending out are the kind that would not easily be detected. Not like the microwaves, for example, that the Russians have been beaming into the U.S. Embassy in Moscow these many years.

Still, the question inevitably arises: what happens to those *other* officers in the Pentagon who are not carrying around their little matchbook jammers? Are they the ones, perchance, responsible for Dense-Packs and Pershings and "mutual armed deterrence"? Shouldn't ELF jammers perhaps be standard Army issue?

■ NERVE GAS IN ERITREA?

Having failed to crush the Eritrean rebels in five massive offensives in the last four years—using a full range of Soviet-supplied weapons, including MIG-21s and -23s, MI-24 helicopter gunships, tanks, napalm and cluster bombs—the Ethiopian military regime has apparently introduced an even more dangerous weapon: nerve gas.

About two years ago, reports started leaking out about the stockpiling of Soviet-supplied chemical weapons in Asmara, the Eritrean capital. The Ethiopian regime refrained from using them then because of an international campaign mounted by the Eritreans and their supporters. But as the regime's offensives failed and its generals grew more desperate, it apparently had second thoughts. News from the war zone in Eritrea now indicates that nerve gas is being used on several fronts.

One dispatch sent to Bereket Habte Selassie, a professor of law and politics at Howard University and the author of *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, reported: "On the afternoon of February 16, 1982, attempting to defend themselves against pre-emptive attack by Eritrean forces, units of the 90,000-man Ethiopian invading army shelled Eritrean forces in the locality of Turrukruk near the Sudanese border with mortar shells fitted out with chemical gases." Since Turrukruk lies only forty miles south of the Sudan, this raises the possibility of a future Ethiopian-Sudanese conflict if the gas should be blown across the border by the wind.

The use of nerve gas in Eritrea is a logical consequence of trying to impose a military solution on what is essentially a political problem. Although the Ethiopian regime speaks of the "peaceful reconstruction" of Eritrea, its policies actually force the defenseless Eritreans either to stand behind its military rule or to suffer the consequences. That is why over a million Eritreans have fled to neighboring countries in the twenty years of the war.

The Eritrean liberation forces, now principally the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front, have called the regime's bluff as to its "peaceful" intentions. In 1980 the front proposed that a referendum be held under the auspices of a mutually acceptable international body—the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League or some such—to allow Eritreans to choose full independence, federal association with Ethiopia or regional autonomy. The military government responded by escalating the war.

The Eritrean cause has also found new support. In May 1980 the Permanent Peoples Tribunal (successor to the Russell Tribunal) rendered a consultative but authoritative opinion in favor of Eritrean independence. The tribunal declared the Eritrean population a "people" within the meaning of international law and determined that Emperor Haile Selassie's government had committed an illegal act in 1962 when it unilaterally abolished the U.N.-imposed federation. In September 1980 the Arab League passed a resolution recognizing the right of the Eritrean people to national independence, and a similar resolution was passed by the conference of the Islamic states in Saudi Arabia in January 1981. And last July the International Commission of Jurists, through its official organ, *The Review*, supported the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination.

■ 'FREQUENTLY NEGLECTED EFFECTS'

The Reagan Administration is currently proposing to spend $4.2 billion on a plan for the evacuation of Americans from about 400 "high-risk" areas to "host areas" to insure their survival in the event of a full-scale nuclear war. Before it goes any farther, the Administration might best read a report prepared by its own Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, declassified last year and forwarded recently by Kitty Tucker of the Health and Energy Learning Project in Washington, D.C.

The report, "An Assessment of Frequently Neglected Effects in Nuclear Attacks," explains that the clouds from nuclear explosions would change the composition of the stratosphere by injecting large quantities of nitrogen oxides. That in turn would reduce the amount of ozone that blankets the earth and shields us from the sun's ultraviolet radiation. The report says that "ozone reduction of about 50% resulting from a war in 1985 would result in blistering sunburn with about an hour of exposure. . . . Only plants and animals having high natural or artificial protection from ultraviolet radiation or which are fortunate will be able to survive." As for long-term effects, a serious ozone decrease would begin within two to four months after a nuclear war, producing its worst effects in about a year. The result "could effectively prevent daytime outside work for several years and would destroy all but the most resistant crops and farm animals."

And still they talk about a winnable nuclear war.

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ARTICLES.

AT THE GERMAN PARTY CONGRESS

The Crisis of the Social Democrats

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

There is not much in the Communist German Democratic Republic anyone in West Germany finds worth imitating, but Bonn's Social Democratic Party has just proved itself equal to the task. When East Germany revolted in 1953, the government issued a statement intimating it was disappointed in the people. Bertolt Brecht, who was working in East Berlin, was quick to respond: if the government was disappointed in the people, he suggested, why did it not dissolve the people—and elect another? At their party's congress, recently concluded in Munich, Helmut Schmidt and his Social Democratic colleagues showed that they are confirmed Brechtians. They bore responsibility for government, they complained, but some of the people and sections of the party persisted in bothering them with their own dubious and unrealistic ideas.

German public opinion polls reflect the party's unhappiness with the populace—and vice versa. Were elections to be held tomorrow, at least 50 percent of the electorate would vote for the united opposition, the Christian-Democratic Union and its Bavarian ally, the Christian-Social Union of Franz-Josef Strauss. The Social Democrats' coalition partners, the Free Democrats, would do well with 7 or 8 percent, about the same as Germany's new political force, the Greens. The Social Democrats would gain only about a third of the vote, their lowest score in decades and well down from the 42 percent they won in 1980.

Are the Social Democrats, who have been in government since 1966 and have provided two federal chancellors since 1969, simply exhausted and depleted, without attractive programs for new circumstances? No doubt the description fits—but it is not the whole story. Their achievements have been substantial, particularly in foreign affairs, where they have been the party of détente—and of accommodation, however difficult, with the other German state. Their practical recognition of Germany's distinctive role between the superpowers is so artful and popular that it is not likely to be altered in any fundamental way by a change in government. Indeed, that may be why so many voters feel free to consider a change.

But in domestic affairs, the exhaustion is evident. The "German model"—a social contract between unions and employers within an extensive welfare state—is in serious difficulty. In a period of economic stagnation and recession, conflicts over the allocation of wealth are inevitable, and now they have become acute. Within the coalition, the Free Democrats—whose support comes from an entrepreneurial and middle-class electorate—are adamantly opposed to government economic stimulation or public investment programs that would cost their backers more. The Christian Democratic opposition contents itself with ambiguous or contradictory criticism, finding no political advantage in trying to translate Reaganomics into German. And the unions are increasingly restive, disillusioned with a party which seems unable to make their interests prevail against the entrepreneurial concerns of its junior coalition partner.

In the meantime, the country's social fabric is being rent. The presence of foreign workers in Germany has provoked a wave of xenophobia, not untouched by racism. Incidents of terrorism and public demonstrations on the economy, housing shortages, nuclear power and nuclear weapons have persuaded millions of Germans that generous doses of tear gas, along with an uninhibited use of billy clubs, will restore civic tranquillity. The opposition, unashamedly brutal in exploiting these sentiments, has appealed to what we might term traditional values in such social areas as education, family life and the role of women.

And as if all that were not enough, the Social Democrats are facing a lively challenge from the Green parties. Recruited from the environmental movement, from the most determined sectors of the peace movement, from advocates of participatory democracy and various alternative modes of social organization, the Greens are demanding that the party live up to the promises of "qualitative" socialism (as opposed to merely quantitative, or material, socialism) talked about by its theorists for years. These are citizens who in the recent past voted for the Social Democrats and whose return to the party would bring it up to 40 percent again, but the party is divided over how to respond to them and their ideas. In a much-discussed paper, veteran Social Democrat Richard Löwenthal, a professor at the Free University of Berlin, recently argued that the Greens should be ignored. They were, he said, really dropouts from society—and an effort to court them would inevitably alienate the workers, who were the only ones on whom the party could count. Willy Brandt, on the other hand, has argued that the party should make every effort to win over these voters (adding that he needed no instruction on what workers thought from the "metal worker" Löwenthal—a reference to Löwenthal's typewriter). Still others have pointed out that the proportion of industrial workers in Germany is dropping and that the new working class, better educated, is especially receptive to new forms of politics. Indeed, the Free Democrats, the Greens and the Social Democrats may be competing for the same voters from a floating group whose adherence has to be won if the conservative opposition is not to return to power.

Norman Birnbaum, a member of The Nation*'s editorial board, is Mellon University Professor of Humanities at Georgetown University Law Center, policy chair of the New Democratic Coalition and a frequent visitor to Germany.*

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Given these difficulties with their Social Democratic allies, some of the Free Democrats appear to think that the time is near for a change of camp. Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher and Economics Minister Otto Count Lambsdorff have recently underlined their differences with the Social Democrats. Genscher affects what can only be described as an exaggeratedly pro-American foreign policy—which he may not believe but which he may find politically convenient. Lambsdorff has been increasingly insistent on policies that place the primary burdens of the recession on Social Democratic supporters. It begins to look as if the two are seeking a *causa belli* to create a rupture with the Social Democrats, fearing that if the coalition is prolonged until 1984, the Christian Democrats will come to power with an absolute parliamentary majority, free to dispense with their participation in the government.

Many other Free Democrats, however, are not at all convinced that a shift toward the Christian Democrats would be to their advantage. Some are strong supporters of the rather more reserved approach to the American alliance taken by Schmidt; some, in fact, criticize Schmidt for being *too* attentive to the Reagan Administration. Others in the party, concerned with issues involving individual rights and possessing a residual liberalism, do not want the conservatives as allies; the very liberal Free Democratic Minister of the Interior, Gerhard Baum, could hardly serve in the same cabinet as the relentless authoritarians of the opposition.

There are other reasons why many Free Democrats are reluctant to change sides. The leader of the Christian Democrats is a provincial mediocrity, Helmut Kohl, whose recent visit to Washington convinced many of his hosts that they had much to be grateful for in Helmut Schmidt. Kohl's present ally, Franz-Josef Strauss, is the one figure Free Democrats find most repulsive. Both are Catholics, and most Free Democrats, being Protestant, would be happier in an alliance with an opposition led by Protestants, either the Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, Gerhard Stoltenberg, or the Mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker. Both men would presumably be attentive to the delicacy of relations with the other German state, which is overwhelmingly Protestant, and take a line on Eastern Europe similar to the Free Democrats'. Stoltenberg, in particular, on his last visit to Washington made it clear that much of the present coalition's policy in Central and Eastern Europe would be continued if he were in charge.

At any rate, the Social Democrats are almost powerless to influence whatever decision their present partners may take. Half enraged, half resigned, they await fate's decree—as an increasingly patronizing Genscher rubs in his conviction that he is, for the moment at least, the man of the hour.

In these uninspiring circumstances, some 400 Social Democrats, representing over 900,000 party members, convened in mid-April in Munich. Since Schmidt is still more popular than his party, they might have been expected to unite behind him. But that is not so easy: he suffers fools poorly and has been unable to conceal his belief that most of his critics in the party are fools. His standing advice to large sections of his party—to concentrate on matters like sewage, health administration and transport, while leaving weightier matters like the economy and foreign policy to their betters—does not evoke frenzies of enthusiasm among them.

Some Social Democrats also feel that Schmidt may be too much of a stolid technocrat. Schmidt clearly believes in social decency, but he has expressed his distrust of what he has described as indulgence in the rhetoric of political morality and politicized religion. Nothing is further from his character than the search of some of Germany's thinkers for new values to infuse a new politics. A standard of fair play, a carefully delimited sense of responsibility and a good deal of technical expertise—these strike him as sufficient. He is an old-fashioned Lutheran, rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's—the more readily as he sees himself as a Hanseatic and republican replica of a Roman statesman.

In economic and social matters, the Chancellor made an easy concession to the delegates: the party, he said, had to keep ahead of the government. Since the Social Democrats had already made known their differences with the Free Democrats on these issues, Schmidt's graciousness cost little and enabled him to satisfy his own closest supporters, the unionists, angry at an unemployment rate of 8 percent and indignant at the continual blackmail by the Free Democrats. The delegates modified the leadership's proposals on the economy and voted for a full-employment program whose merits are indisputable but of which it can be said with certainty that the Free Democrats will block it. (Indeed, they added to the Social Democrats' indignation by criticizing the proposals almost before the party approved them.)

On the question of nuclear power, the leadership won an easy victory on a proposal characterized by Willy Brandt, with a commendable measure of detachment, as decisively two-sided: nuclear plant construction will be continued for the time being, but at some point will stop.

Most of the outright passion of the congress was expressed in the realm of defense and foreign affairs. Schmidt in the past has not been reticent about depicting himself as an Atlas, keeping the world from falling into the abyss of war. He has insisted that serious negotiations with the Soviet Union and military parity with it are parts of the same equation. He has not hesitated to acknowledge the political dimensions of the German option for enlarged economic relations with Eastern Europe in general and the Soviet Union in particular. He has not been reluctant (above all, on American television) to declare that there are special German national interests that follow from its division and its geopolitical position between the superpowers.

Schmidt's opponents within the party are led by Erhard Eppler, a former minister of development and the president of the national assembly of the German Protestant Church, and the Mayor of Saarbrücken, Oskar Lafontaine. They do not believe it is sensible for Germany to count on the *bona fides* of this American Administration. They view the Pershing missiles America wants NATO to deploy not as counters to Russia's SS-20s but as first-strike

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weapons, intended not to defend Europe but to advance America's global strategy. They hold that Germany's weight in the alliance would be increased were it to say no emphatically from time to time.

The most spectacular speech of the congress was made by Eppler. It won much acclaim from the galleries, full of Social Democratic supporters, if less from the delegates. He described President Reagan as a right-wing extremist who was about to be dealt with by the American people themselves. To be true to ourselves as Social Democrats, he argued, we should side with Edward Kennedy against Reagan. The American peace movement showed that the German one was correct—and how little anti-American it was. As for the Geneva arms negotiations, Eppler cited statements from American negotiators to try to show that negotiations there were "secondary" and "not serious." He also had ample quotations from Kennedy's speeches, which he employed to characterize Schmidt as a prisoner of the false assumptions of the nuclear arms race. (Eppler was vociferously criticized in the German press for thus "interfering" in American politics, the Germans actually supposing that many Americans noticed.)

There is, in fact, an ambiguity in Schmidt's position and it came out at the congress. Viewed from the Pentagon, he is indeed a dove—as he told the delegates, he is "the head of the German peace movement." Viewed from the German peace movement, he resembles a hawk, especially because he accepts the logic of deterrence—which Eppler, Lafontaine and millions of Germans now reject.

In the end, Schmidt and his supporters carried the day. The delegates rejected Eppler's call for direct negotiations with Brezhnev and a moratorium on the deployment of Pershing missiles, accepting Schmidt's argument that declaring a moratorium would deprive Germany of influence on both sides at the Geneva negotiations. It was also agreed that the party would hold a special congress in the fall of 1983 to consider the question of Pershing deployment in the light of whatever progress had been made by then at the Geneva meetings. With friends like Schmidt, the Reaganites hardly need Eppler and Lafontaine as enemies.

As to the resurgence of nuclear protest in the United States, the response at the congress had an undertone of pathos. Schmidt and his supporters were clearly intent on saying nothing that would disturb their difficult relations with the Reaganites. They displayed a certain irritation at the complications introduced by the American antinuclear campaign and at the way the Eppler forces claimed legitimation from the American movement. In the end, Schmidt considered a tempered valor the better part of discretion: he authorized a resolution that welcomed the American peace movement but did not support the freeze proposal.

The German peace movement, whatever the dissatisfactions of the doves at the congress, will likely have an important impact on the Social Democrats in the years ahead. In particular, they must respond to the rather surprising emergence in East Germany of a peace movement of its own. At an officially tolerated symposium in East Berlin some months ago, East German writers uttered thoughts for which they would ordinarily have gone to jail. They held that the accumulation of arms, even "Socialist" arms, was not the way to peace, that East Germany's contribution to peace is not identical with faithful support of the Soviet Union, and that it was necessary for an independent policy to be developed by the two Germanies in tandem. And the Protestant Church, the only nongovernmental institution in the other Germany, has now been roused by antinuclear protest originating among its younger members. Not long ago, thousands of young Protestants began to wear

DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

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Message from a Small Town in West Germany to the Readers of THE NATION

This is a message from the citizens of Vlotho. Vlotho is a town in Nordrhein-Westfalen, West Germany, with 20,000 inhabitants.

Since we are concerned about peace in the world, we herewith address ourselves to the population of the United States and the Soviet Union. We are glad to live in a free democratic country like the Americans, and for that reason we have ties with them. In the same way we sympathize with all Russians who wish for a peaceful future just as we do.

But is there any chance for our children to survive? A total nuclear war is possible at any time. Even if this war starts in Europe and is intended to be limited to Europe, it is likely to spread to the Soviet Union and America. Do you want to run the risk of the destruction of your country? *It's not the sacrifice of your own life, which you might be willing to make, that is at stake: it's mass murder, if not the destruction of civilization altogether. No political system is worth this price.*

There's only one way to avoid this terrible end: *The aspiration to predominance in East and West must be abandoned. Furthermore, the contrast between the systems must be dissolved by developing a common humane and progressive system.* For if the contrast remains, it will sooner or later provoke a world war.

A first step to peace in military terms is to prevent the development and installation of new weapons. That means that no more cruise missiles, neutron bombs, space weapons and binary chemical weapons must be produced. Imbalances in levels of armaments should be corrected by the disarmament of the stronger side or if necessary by having the weaker side equalize with old kinds of weapons.

This development must be insured politically, which means that we should gradually try to form a federal world government and a world peace troop by strengthening the international institutions that already exist.

At the same time, and as a second step, the number of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons must be reduced to zero in all countries. Finally, national armies should be dissolved and a small world peace troop should be formed instead.

In this way mankind could ban the danger of further world wars and nuclear self-destruction.

Undersigned: P. Ausländer, pedagogue; W. Bahn, precentor; C. Bartels, student, H. Bartels, bank officer; R. Berg, shopkeeper; H. Berges, painter; H. Bröer, teacher; S. Fabry, deacon; D. May, teacher; G. Schöll, pedagogue, L. Stöpel, journalist; H. Urbschat, teacher.
On instruction: R. Sprenger, Sonnenweg 5, D-4973 Vlotho, West Germany.

emblems on their jackets showing swords beaten into plowshares. They were punished, and so have begun to wear holes in their jackets instead. No one can tell where this movement will end, but it will have the net effect of strengthening the peace movement in West Germany by raising at least the prospect of an all-German coalition against the superpowers.

In any case, there is very little chance that either Pershing 2 or cruise missiles will ever be installed in West Germany. If the present coalition remains in power, it will find in the new START negotiations a convenient reason for repeated delaying tactics. If there is a change of government, many restraints on the Social Democrats would fall and the party would be able in effect to merge with large parts of the peace movement, forming a powerful opposition capable of threatening widespread civil disturbances against deployment. And a new government of the right is unlikely to risk such civil disturbances over an issue on which so much of the populace agrees with the peace movement. The recent stirrings in East Germany make the case for a very different approach to the entire German problem more pressing. In this respect, however, nearly everyone in Washington obdurately refuses to think ahead. □

FOLLOW-UP ON THE LETELIER CASE

The C.I.A.'s Link To Chile's Plot

JOHN DINGES AND SAUL LANDAU

Almost six years after the assassination of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C., information continues to surface indicating that the Central Intelligence Agency concealed facts about its relations with DINA, the Chilean secret police, that might have helped solve the murder quickly.

In our earlier report [see "The Chilean Connection," *The Nation*, November 28, 1981], we showed that DINA's head, then-Col. Manuel Contreras, visited Washington secretly only days after he gave his agents orders to begin the assassination operation. Contreras made the trip to purchase weapons illegally from a company run by former C.I.A. officers Edwin Wilson and Frank Terpil.

New information from a year-old Congressional hearing—unnoticed at the time—reveals that Contreras had another meeting, this one with the second-ranking officer of the C.I.A., Deputy Director Vernon Walters. Walters told a March 10, 1981, hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs that he had two

John Dinges, a Washington, D.C., writer, and Saul Landau, a Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, are the authors of Assassination on Embassy Row *(Pantheon), an account of the Letelier case.*

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meetings with Contreras in Washington: one, previously publicized, in August 1975, the second "a year" later. An aide to Walters says that "every meeting" with Contreras involved "agency-to-agency business" and none took place after Walters's retirement from the C.I.A. on July 2, 1976.

We don't know the nature of the business, nor is there any evidence that Contreras told Walters of the Letelier assassination plot. But it is noteworthy that, according to F.B.I. investigators, Walters never told them about the second meeting with Contreras, even though its proximity to the assassination on September 21, 1976, made it particularly relevant to the investigation.

Walters's name has arisen several times in connection with Contreras and the DINA agents plotting the murder, according to the evidence compiled by the F.B.I. That evidence shows that Walters traveled to Asunción, Paraguay, in June 1976 on agency business. A month later, two DINA agents assigned to kill Letelier arrived in Paraguay to obtain false passports, using Walters's name and alleging that Walters and the C.I.A. knew about the DINA mission to Washington. Walters has denied he had anything to do with the DINA agents or the false passports.

Contreras's two meetings in Washington give new importance to hitherto ignored statements to the F.B.I. by the head of the Paraguayan secret police, Col. Benito Guanes. Guanes was the person who arranged the false passports for the two DINA agents, and it was his understanding that the agents were traveling to Washington "to contact the Central Intelligence Agency and also purchase Colt silencers for small arms." (Interestingly, Contreras's deal with Wilson and Terpil was for 1,059 Colt Cobra revolvers, a small handgun widely used by plainclothes police.) Guanes also said the two agents "had the cooperation of the C.I.A./U.S.A.," which "suggested that they travel with documents with another nationality since, as Chileans, it would be difficult to take such material out of the U.S.A." (Congress had prohibited arms sales to Chile earlier in 1976 because of human rights violations.)

Guanes portrayed Walters, whom he had met in Paraguay, as helping arrange the DINA agents' trip. He said he met U.S. Ambassador George Landau on August 6, 1976, at a Chinese Embassy reception: "[He] took us aside and said, 'I received a call from General Walters stating that problems had arisen with the passports given to the Chileans and that the State Department had cancelled the visas. It is possible for the same two to enter [the United States] directly using Chilean passports, for which they would make direct contact.' This information should be sent to my friend Colonel Contreras. . . ."

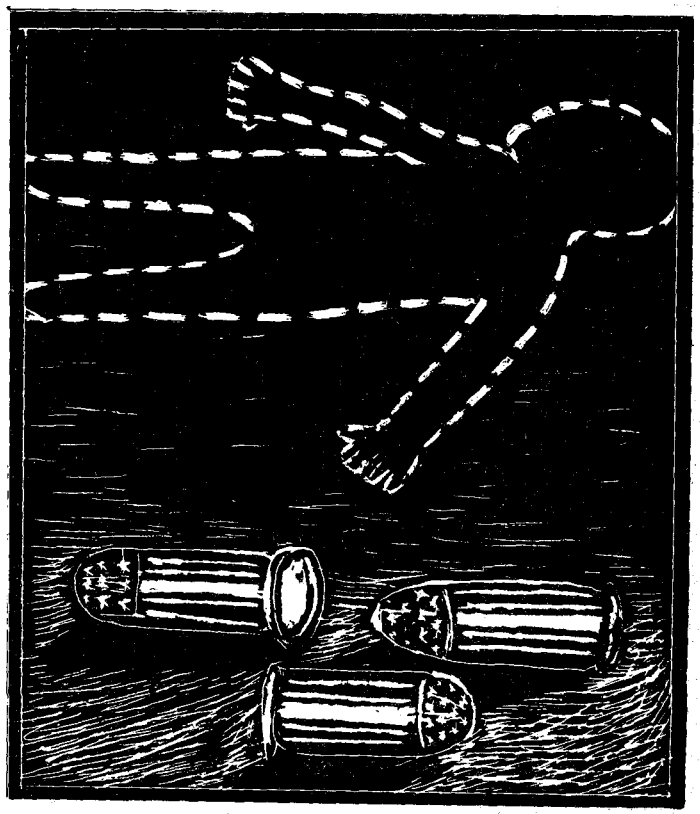
Because this account differs from Walters's denial and Landau's testimony about the reception, F.B.I. agents at first discounted it. They also assumed that because Guanes was a friend of Contreras he might have concocted the C.I.A. story to embarrass the United States. But in light of Walters's admission of a second meeting with Contreras, Guanes's testimony takes on new weight.

The Chilean government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet has stonewalled on the Letelier case, denying the U.S. request for Contreras's extradition, terminating the military and judicial investigations it had begun, and expelling from the country the attorney for the Letelier family, former Justice Minister Jaime Castillo.

Our new information indicates that the C.I.A., which had pledged to cooperate with F.B.I. investigators, has joined in that stonewalling. The C.I.A. and General Walters had full information about the incidents in Paraguay, including photographs of the two DINA agents, within days of their occurrence. The information was never turned over to the F.B.I. Its importance is indicated by the fact that when the photographs and cable traffic about the incidents were unearthed by Federal investigators more than a year later, they led to the arrest of DINA agent Michael Townley, who confessed to having been involved in the plot, and to the indictments of Contreras and two other DINA officials.

Townley, in an intercepted letter to a DINA colleague written from a U.S. prison on June 29, 1979, mentioned further unreported C.I.A.-DINA connections. "Speaking of checking accounts," Townley wrote to Gustavo Etchepare, "Mamo [Contreras] has at least one, if not more, joint checking accounts with the CIA, accounts that are used to re-imburse the service [DINA] for jobs done for the CIA or with them. This is one of the things that Mamo tried to use against the Gringos at first. . . ."

The biggest question left unanswered concerns the relationship of the C.I.A. to DINA and to Townley at the time of the assassination. Why were DINA agents able to come and go freely in the United States? Were C.I.A. officials involved in circumventing the Congressional arms embargo against Chile, and so obliged to keep silent about DINA activity in Washington at the time of Letelier's assassination for fear of revealing another C.I.A. covert action scandal? □



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Water

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

even in the flood plain of a river, and to expect bountiful, inexpensive supplies of potable water even if the house is built on the desert—a number of these seemingly self-evident "rights" are going to come under attack, and they are going to have to be altered or abandoned, in coming years.

We are, in sum, about to suffer a bit. We have abused the earth's enormous, but finite, supply of water for a very long time now. While there may be 370 quintillion (that's a figure with eighteen zeros) gallons of it on the planet, we have been poisoning and damaging the usable supply at a rate that has been increasing with shameful speed.

The crisis has many components, which should not be surprising, since water has so much to do with all life on Earth. What may be surprising, however, is the speed with which the multitude of water problems has been thrust on the planet and particularly on the United States.

The most publicized of the current troubles with the *quality* of water have been the ones involving toxic wastes—and of those, the most dramatic has been the case of Love Canal, in which a housing development and a school were built near a former toxic chemical dump. It was just the sort of thing, some might think, that could be expected to happen at Niagara Falls, New York, in a region that is the home of some of the larger and more pollution-prone industrial processes, including many that involve dangerous chemicals and compounds. Less dramatic than Love Canal, but perhaps equally scary in the long run, have been the discoveries of problems with toxic chemicals at scores of other places in the nation, including some regions far removed from industrial blight.

Other problems with the quality of water have manifested themselves in recent years in what seem to be almost geometrically increasing numbers. Herbicides and pesticides have turned up in public drinking-water supplies. Whole towns and sections of big cities have had their systems shut down for a few days, and their residents have been advised to drink bottled water, while harmful chemicals or organisms of undetermined origin are flushed out of the pipes. It is not unusual today for rain to fall that is as acid as vinegar. Nor is it any longer surprising when an announcement is made that an aquifer has become, or is in serious danger of becoming, polluted and that no one has the slightest idea what caused the condition or whether anything can be done about it. For decades the residents of Long Island have been pouring their human, agricultural and industrial wastes into an aquifer that underlies their homes, farms, schoolhouses and businesses, and then taking their drinking water from the same source. Finally realizing what they were doing, they have started trying to get their water from an even deeper aquifer, which also is becoming tainted with the wastes of a highly developed civilization that has not yet learned that there is really no such thing as "out of sight, out of mind."

Many of the other present-day problems with water have to do with its *quantity*. Traditionally, quantity problems have occurred in America's West, where the rainfall is generally a small percentage of that in the East. In 1977, a two-year drought in California, the most severe in the state's history, was broken by rains that caused flooding and mudslides and millions of dollars' worth of damage. Farmers between Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona, have been withdrawing water from aquifers—to use in irrigating crops they are growing on the desert—at such a rate that the surface of the earth has fallen twelve feet since the 1920s. Pumping out more ground water than normally would trickle down from the surface and naturally recharge the aquifers is referred to as "mining water," and the farmers in Arizona (and other places) mine it just as surely and deliberately as the state's copper miners remove ore from the ground.

The notion that water *quality* problems belong to the densely populated Eastern United States and that *quantity* problems are peculiar to the West is being challenged by recent developments. Synthetic organic chemicals of the sort that have been turning up in toxic waste dumps and tests of contaminated wells in the East have been found in public wells serving thousands of people in California's San Gabriel Valley. The pesticide dibromopropane, or DBCP, has been discovered in ground-water supplies in more than two dozen California localities, many in the San Joaquin Valley. DBCP is believed to cause sterility and cancer. Long Island is mining water in much the same way that the Arizona farmers are, and water planners in much of Florida, from Tampa Bay to the Keys, are deeply embroiled in water quantity issues and controversies. In the older cities of the Northeast, including New York, the condition of the underground infrastructure by which clean water is delivered and waste water taken away has deteriorated greatly because of age, the impact of traffic and neglect.

The crisis in water would not be so severe if it were not for another problem that runs straight through every issue of quantity and quality. It is the fact that government, so far, has been an abject failure at recognizing the water crisis, planning for it, protecting its citizens against it, informing them of it or figuring out what to do about it. Governments have stood by, almost inert, as caches of poisons have been discovered beneath the ground and atop drinking water supplies; as greed has mined water from the ground until the earth has collapsed above it; as the networks of pipes that carry water to city dwellers have cracked and disintegrated; as highly productive farmland has been confiscated and flooded so that dams could be built which will not control floods, not produce very much electricity and not do much of anything else except enrich some land speculators and perpetuate a vast government bureaucracy which feels it must destroy nature in order to survive.

Fred Powledge is a New York City-based freelance writer. This article is an excerpt from Water: The Nature, Uses and Future of our Most Precious and Abused Resource, *© 1982 by Fred Powledge, to be published this summer by Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.*

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This failure of government is at the bottom of the crisis in water, but government cannot continue in its careless, irresponsible role much longer, for the simple reason that we can't play games with water much longer.

If the era of cheap water, like the era of cheap energy, is over, we must face the fact that economics will control the future of water, whether we like it or not. A U.S. Geological Survey document puts it this way: "As increases in water use deplete the easily developable supplies, more costly additional supplies are being sought. As the costs of water go up, water resources become more and more like other economic commodities for which there are supplies, demands and a pricing and marketing structure to balance the supplies and demands."

It is not an idea that is easy for the humanistic-minded to like, for it conjures up highly likely images of the wrong people being in control of the economics of a substance that is absolutely essential to human life—people like the members of the petroleum cartel, the leaders of the chemical industry and the other stalwarts of the great American free enterprise system that has shown such contempt for water up until now. The opportunities for corruption, abuse and political and economic capital are unlimited.

But the fact remains: decent water will never again be a free good. That is now beyond argument. The best we can do, now that we know that economics will be the controlling factor in the future, is to try to keep that control out of the hands of the wrong people.

The economics argument also appears to overlook the esthetic side of water, and that too may bother the humanist. It is basically, inherently *wrong* to poison water, to ruin fine streams, to waste water that is clean enough to drink, to build dams and canals that exploit water needlessly. But that argument and a quarter will only get you a round trip on the Staten Island Ferry. The future of water will be decided not by esthetics but by economics.

Fortunately, there are some who believe that the most economical uses of water are also those that preserve best the esthetic values of water. David Abelson, of the California Planning and Conservation League, said not long ago: "I think if you go to the Stanislaus River, or the Pitt River, or the north fork of the Feather River—places where dams and major power plants are proposed—and take a look at the rich, integrated, ancient systems that are thriving up there, you may find that there's a real question about man's sensitivity when, for such marginal uses as watering his sidewalks, he would wipe out a million-year-old system without regard to the collateral impacts that would result." Some people, he said, will be swayed to respect water when the environmentalists and others explain to them what it is they stand to lose if water doesn't receive respect. "But I think, being a realist in the world that we're living in," he added, "that the more meaningful indicator will be economics. The beauty of the position we're taking on the issues of water in California is that the path that we're advocating is actually economically advantageous."

The path being promoted by Abelson and many others who are concerned about the future of water is conservation. It is an obvious key component in solving the water crisis and in avoiding future problems. It is the obvious way to provide the equivalent of a vast untapped reservoir of clean, potable water. It is as obvious as elementary school mathematics: halving the demand for water is equal to doubling the supply. Every serious examination of what is happening to water today, and of what threatens to happen to it tomorrow, comes to the conclusion that conservation is of extreme, possibly of premier, importance. Yet the subject

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is studiously ignored by politicians, community leaders, builders, planners, agriculture and industry, and their unwillingness to pursue it seriously is a leading contributor to the crisis.

Conservation to date has been a nice topic for politicians to be in favor of but difficult to grasp and embrace. A 1974 Federal report of a meeting of state representatives to discuss water conservation noted that "everyone agreed efficiency was a good idea, but acceptance of specific methods produced something less than consensus." Other studies have shown that those in industry and agriculture pay little attention to saving water until its cost becomes an issue. As an Arizona Water Plan document says: "Water conservation is rarely practiced solely for the purpose of saving water."

But conservation of water is *easy*. It can be practiced without pain or suffering or deprivation, even without sacrificing one's precious "life style." While this fact is not widely appreciated by agriculture, industry or politicians, millions of individuals who have felt a need to save water understand it quite well. Their motives have ranged from a desire to cut water bills (as in southern Florida), to the knowledge that they were in the midst of a severe drought (as in northern California in the late 1970s), to an understanding and acceptance of the fact that there isn't any water to waste (as in Cerrillos, New Mexico, and many other communities), to the feeling that wasting clean water is simply immoral (as in countless homes around the country).

Enormous savings in water can be accomplished by simple, almost unnoticeable changes in, or additions to, the daily routine. A dime-sized metal disk with a hole in it, placed in a bathroom shower head, reduces the volume of water passing through a shower without affecting the experience of getting clean. Devices for reducing the amount of water stored in a toilet tank may be installed and easily forgotten. Not flushing a toilet that has been used for urination is not as disgusting as it first sounds, and taking a plastic bucket into the shower with you to catch the runoff—for use in flushing toilets, feeding houseplants, filling humidifiers and the like—can quickly become part of one's routine.

Conservation could produce immense savings, in terms of energy and dollars, if it was practiced on a national level. Conserving water means spending less money on the energy that is needed to pump it out of the ground and over mountains (and in homes and industry, saving water means using less *heated* water, which further reduces energy expense). David Abelson cites a California Department of Water Resources estimate that "through a *modest* program of conservation . . . you could save California on the order of 10 million barrels of oil a year. And using 1976 dollars, both in terms of their value and in terms of what the price of oil was at that time, there would be $100 million a year in consumer savings."

One way to conserve water is to reuse it—or, strictly speaking, inasmuch as all the water on Earth is constantly being reused, to reuse it a little sooner than we normally do. There are already some programs in operation that involve spreading treated waste water on the ground in order to allow it to refill the aquifers below. Other efforts aim at using "gray" water—water that has been used but that doesn't contain fecal matter—for irrigation and in industry. These processes are still in the early stages of development, and there is a lot to be learned—in particular, about what happens to water as it drifts down through the ground to the aquifers. If artificial recycling of water in this manner results in damage to the aquifers, lasting harm will be done. Scientists are particularly concerned about the presence of viruses in such water. The *British Medical Journal* commented in 1978: "The demands on water are increasing so rapidly because of population expansion and industrial needs that recycling of domestic waste and sewage is practically inevitable in the future. The presence of viruses in sewage effluent, streams and rivers, lakes, and other waters is an important health hazard with the increasing contamination of surface water." Such recycling, however, is inevitable if we are to avoid serious water shortages brought on by a combination of increased user demand and decreased supply because of pollution.

The marvelous thing about water conservation is that, even though the idea induces paralysis and chronic backbone failure in politicians, the people seem to accept it without many qualms at all. There are parallels in the public's response to two recent events—an apparent shortage of gasoline and rises in the cost of credit that were so great the usury laws had to be amended. With scarcely more than vague hints at leadership from their elected officials, the people reacted by driving less and ending their dependence on gas-guzzling Detroit automobiles and by charging less on their credit cards. In both cases they cut back so much that the political leadership got seriously concerned about effects on the economy, by which it meant the oil companies and the banks. Once again, the people were well ahead of their "leaders."

It is equally clear that the people are perfectly willing to save water. It helps if they have the proper leadership and if they receive sufficient information on *how* to save it, but those are not essential. One of the lessons learned during the California drought of 1976-77 was that individuals and families could cut their consumption of water greatly without destroying or even seriously rearranging the rest of their lives. "It is clear," said a state report on the drought, "that Californians can carry on nearly all domestic activities with little more than a minor crimp in lifestyles, [and] with a rather substantial reduction in water consumption."

Conservation of water, whether it is done by a retired couple in a Miami suburb or a conglomerate that wants to remove copper from the ground, amounts to little more than learning to *care* about water. A learning process is required because water has been a free good for so long, a substance so easily taken for granted, used and then splashed unceremoniously onto the ground or into the nearest stream—such an unseen, unnoticed and unloved component of our lives that we have hardly known it was there. If there is one thing we should know about water now, it is that it is important. It is not free. We cannot continue to exploit it. Water will have to have standing. □

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An Antinuclear Calendar

The following calendar was compiled by Nuclear Reactions, *a magazine covering the nuclear disarmament movement whose first issue is scheduled for September. Although this represents the most comprehensive catalog of national and international antinuclear events available as of June 1, new listings are being added daily and a complete calendar will be made available at the June 12 disarmament rally in New York City. An ongoing calendar of antinuclear events will continue to be compiled by the staff of* Nuclear Reactions, *to whom additional listings may be sent at P.O. Box 1926, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.* —*The Editors*

NATIONAL

JUNE

NATIONWIDE—Fast for Disarmament: Started in Washington, D.C., on May 10, and to begin in New York City and other communities between June 7 and July 9, the fast will continue for the duration of the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament II (S.S.D. II). Ecumenical Peace Institute/CALC, Fast for Disarmament, 942 Market St., Suite 714, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415-391-5215.

JUNE, JULY, AUGUST

VIRGINIA—Vigils at Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. whenever nuclear submarines are launched. Tidewater Interfaith Peace Fellowship, 2909 Pinewood Dr., Virginia Beach, VA 23453, 804-486-8838.

JUNE 12

NEW YORK—March and rally in Central Park in New York City to support S.S.D. II. June 12 Rally Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003, 212-460-8980.

JUNE 13

CALIFORNIA—March to Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Livermore Action Group, 3217 Shattuck St., Berkeley, CA 94703, 415-644-2028.

CALIFORNIA—Forum: "Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East," Oakland. East Bay Socialist School, 6025 Shattuck, Oakland, CA 94609, 415-652-1756.

NEW YORK—International peace fair at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, 47th St. and First Ave., New York City. International Liaison Office, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027, 212-749-3810.

NEW YORK—Guest sermon: Cyrus Vance on disarmament. Cathedral of St. John the Divine, 112th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, NY, 212-678-6922.

NEW YORK—Nonviolence training for June 14 civil disobedience action at the United Nations. June 14 CD Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, 212-777-4737.

NEW YORK—People's Assembly: a series of forums on disarmament in New York City. Tuesday and Thursday evenings and Sunday afternoons through July 11. People's Assembly, 51 East 90th St., New York, NY 10028, 212-289-3353.

NEW YORK—Workshop in New York City on grass-roots lobbying in Congressional districts. (Reservations necessary.) Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 56 North Beacon St., Watertown, MA 02172, 617-923-9542.

NEW YORK—Poster exhibit by schoolchildren: "Nuclear War Has No Winners." Sloane House, Y.M.C.A., 356 West 34th St., New York City, through June 20. Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, 7 East 15th St., Suite 407, New York, NY 10003, 212-989-1194.

OREGON—Vigil in downtown Salem. Friends Meeting c/o Lewis, 8589 Roanoke Dr., Brooks, OR 97305, 503-792-3238.

OREGON—Rally at the State capitol in Salem. Citizen Action for Lasting Security, P.O. Box 12763, Salem, OR 97309, 503-371-8002.

JUNE 14

CALIFORNIA—Fast for Disarmament at Main Gate of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, through June 21. Livermore Action Group, 3217 Shattuck St., Berkeley, CA 94703, 415-644-2028.

MASSACHUSETTS — Disarmament meeting in Waltham. Business Alert to Nuclear War, P.O. Box 7, Belmont, MA 02178, 617-253-1578.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Vigil for disarmament, Mondays at noon. Concord State House. American Friends Service Committee, Box 1081, 77 N. Main, Concord, NH 03301, 603-224-2407.

NEW YORK—Civil disobedience at U.N. missions of the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China. Nonviolence training required (see June 13). June 14 CD Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, 212-777-4737.

NEW YORK—Play: Excerpts from "Hibakusha—Stories from Hiroshima." The Plowshare Coffeehouse and Discussion Center, 777 U.N. Plaza, Second floor, New York City. Fellowship of Reconciliation, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, 914-358-4601.

NEW YORK—Television program: "Nuclear Issues," 7:30 P.M., and every following Monday, Channel D on Teleprompter and Manhattan Cable in New York City. New York Physicians for Social Responsibility, 510 Madison Ave., Suite 704, New York, NY 10022, 212-308-2325.

VIRGINIA — United Methodist Church convention in Virginia Beach, with freeze-related activities and support vigil, through June 18. Tidewater Interfaith Peace Fellowship, 2909 Pinewood Dr., Virginia Beach, VA 23452, 804-486-8838.

JUNE 15

MAINE—Film/Discussion series on disarmament at the Unitarian Church in Kennebunk. Kennebunk Forum, 38 High St., Kennebunk, ME 04043, 207-985-7002.

JUNE 16

CALIFORNIA—Nuclear film series at New College of California in San Francisco, through June 18. Bay Area Women's Party for Survival, 13 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, CA 94113, 415-981-8909.

UTAH—Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage arrives in Salt Lake City. The march left the Trident submarine base in Bangor, Washington, on April 9, bound for Washington, D.C. It will depart from New York City in March 1983, travel to Ireland, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece and Turkey, and arrive in Bethlehem on November 1, 1983. Individuals and groups are welcome to join the pilgrimage for a mile, a day or a week. Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage, 621 17th Ave. East, Seattle, WA 98112, 206-329-1242.

JUNE 17

HAWAII—"A Day for Nuclear Disarmament and Human Needs": Noon rally, afternoon march through Waikiki, evening program, as Hawaii hosts 1,000 Japanese delegates to S.S.D. II. Hawaii Liaison Committee for Disarmament Delegates, c/o Pacific Concerns Resource Center, Box 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827, 808-538-3522.

VIRGINIA—Peace program: "Nuclear Weapons Freeze Proposal." Richmond Y.W.C.A., Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N. Laurel St., Richmond, VA 23220, 804-358-1958.

JUNE 18

CALIFORNIA—Seminar: "Defense Workers and Peacemaking." Interfaith Center To Reverse the Arms Race, 132 North Euclid, Pasadena, CA 91101, 213-449-9430.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Vigil for disarmament, Fridays at 5 P.M., Market Square, Portsmouth. c/o Neila Sargeant, 15 Old Armory Way, Kittery, ME 03904.

NEW YORK—Vigil at U.S. and Soviet missions to the United Nations in support of nuclear weapons freeze. American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Pl., New York, NY 10003, 212-598-0971.

NEW YORK—"Film Classics of the Nuclear Age." Plowshare Coffeehouse and Discussion Center, 777 U.N. Plaza, Second floor, New York City. Fellowship of Reconciliation, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, 914-358-4601.

JUNE 19

ARKANSAS — Workshop: "Can You See a Peaceful Planet?" Little Rock Society of Friends, 12406 Colleen Dr., Little Rock, AR 72212, 501-224-4020.

CALIFORNIA—Workshop: "Simulated Limitations Negotiations," held at McGeorge Law School in

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Sacramento. Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, c/o Ron Worley, Van Camp & Johnson, Suite 400, 555 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916-929-4892.

CALIFORNIA—Demonstration against Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Mosswood Park, Oakland. Livermore Action Group, 3127 Shattuck St., Berkeley, CA 94703, 415-644-2028.

CALIFORNIA—Disarmament teach-in. House on the Way, Holy Redeemer Center, 8555 Golf Links Rd., Oakland, CA 94605, 415-635-6343.

MASSACHUSETTS — Speaker training course on preventing nuclear war and halting the arms race at Harvard School of Public Health. Greater Boston Physicians for Social Responsibility, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139, 617-497-7440.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Vigil for disarmament, Saturdays at noon. Central Square, Keene. c/o Mary Gregory, Chapman Rd., Keene, NH 03431, 603-352-8673.

JUNE 20

OREGON—Vigil in downtown Salem. See June 13.

JUNE 21

CALIFORNIA—Blockade of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Livermore Action Group, 3217 Shattuck St., Berkeley, CA 94703, 415-644-2028.

MASSACHUSETTS — Forum: "Prospects for Nuclear Arms Control." Harvard School of Public Health. Greater Boston Physicians for Social Responsibility, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139, 617-497-7440.

NEW YORK—Meeting: "The Peace and Justice Movement after June 12." New York Mobilization for Survival, 135 West 4th St., New York, NY 10012, 212-673-1808.

OHIO — Course: "Alternative to Violence," through June 25 at the University of Akron. Alternatives to Violence, 10916 Magnolia Dr., Cleveland, OH 44106, 216-231-4245.

JUNE 23

NEW YORK—Review session on campaign in Westchester, Putnam and Fairfield counties in support of S.S.D. II. Westchester Peoples Action Coalition, 255 Grove St., Box 488, White Plains, NY 10602, 914-682-0488.

JUNE 24

CALIFORNIA—Report on S.S.D. II and related conferences. Trinity Methodist Church, Berkeley. Ecumenical Peace Institute, 942 Market St., Suite 714, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415-391-5215.

VIRGINIA — Peace Program: "S.S.D. II." Richmond Y.W.C.A. Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N. Laurel St., Richmond, VA 23220, 804-358-1958.

JUNE 25

HAWAII—Send-off for the Pacific Peacemaker. The peace yacht was launched on December 28 from Australia and arrived in Hawaii May 26. It is on its way from Hawaii to Vancouver and Washington State to support the blockade of the Trident submarine base in Bangor (see July 2 and August 8—Washington), and will then sail to San Francisco and Los Angeles. Pacific Concerns Resource Center, P.O. Box 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827, 808-538-3522.

MASSACHUSETTS—Conference: "Nonviolent Defense and Nonviolent Peacemaking," through June 27 in Stoughton. International Seminars on Training for Nonviolent Action, Box 515, Waltham, MA 02254, 617-899-6589.

NEW YORK—Vigil at U.S. and Soviet missions to the United Nations in support of nuclear weapons freeze. See June 18.

JUNE 26

MASSACHUSETTS—Two days of family activities in support of the nuclear freeze in South Carver. Citizens of Earth, 26 Clarendon Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, 617-876-9520.

NORTH CAROLINA — Training conference for nuclear freeze activists in Asheville. American Friends Service Committee, P.O. Box 2234, High Point, NC 27261, 919-882-0109.

VIRGINIA — "A Peace Peoples Picnic," Byrd Park, Richmond. Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N. Laurel St., Richmond, VA 23220, 804-358-1958.

JUNE 27

OREGON — Vigil in downtown Salem. See June 13.

JUNE 28

NEW YORK—Conference: "Youth Perspectives on Issues Before the S.S.D." at the United Nations. Non-Governmental Organizations' Committee on Youth, c/o N.G.O. Unit, Department of International, Economic and Social Affairs, Room 2240, United Nations, New York, NY 10017, 212-697-4838.

JUNE 30

CALIFORNIA—"Feminism and Peace": an evening of poetry and music. Victoria Theater, San Francisco. War Resisters League/West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117, 415-731-1220.

JULY 2

NEW YORK—Vigil at U.S. and Soviet missions to the United Nations in support of nuclear weapons freeze. See June 18.

WASHINGTON—Conference: "Periscope on Peace," at Seabeck, through July 5. The weekend will include a demonstration and civil disobedience at the Trident submarine base in Bangor. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1838 South West Jefferson St., Portland, OR 97201, 503-222-7293.

JULY 3

WISCONSIN—Annual peace festival in Madison, through July 4. Peace Project, Box 14491, Madison, WI 53701, 608-241-5335.

JULY 4

IOWA—Events statewide to focus attention on final days of S.S.D. II and to announce Iowa's support for a nuclear freeze. Iowa Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Ave., Des Moines, IA 50312, 515-274-4851.

OREGON — Vigil in downtown Salem. See June 13.

OREGON—Rally at City Hall in Portland. Citizen Action for Lasting Security, P.O. Box 12763, Salem, OR 97309, 503-371-8002.

OREGON, UTAH, WASHINGTON—Vigil on railroad tracks on which Trident motors are shipped to the submarine base in Bangor, Washington. Ground Zero, 16159 Clear Creek Road N.W., Poulseo, WA 98370, 206-692-7053.

JULY 7

MINNESOTA—Demonstration/investigation at civil defense shelters throughout the state. People for Survival, 1925 Nicollet, Suite 101, Minneapolis, MN 55403, 612-870-1501.

NEW YORK—Presentation of world peace pledge at U.N. missions of France, Britain, China, Russia and the United States. Fellowship of Reconciliation, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, 914-358-4601.

JULY 9

NEW YORK—Vigil at the U.S. and Soviet missions to the United Nations in support of nuclear weapons freeze. See June 18.

JULY 10

CALIFORNIA — Bike-a-thon for Peace in Los Angeles. Alliance for Survival, 1503 North Hobart Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90027, 213-462-6243.

NORTH CAROLINA—Festival for Peace in Winston-Salem. C/o Melissa Gehrman, 2151 Silas Creek Parkway, Winston-Salem, NC 27103, 919-723-1395.

JULY 11

CALIFORNIA—Training session for freeze campaign workers in San Francisco. Golden Gate Alliance, 2735 Franklin St., San Francisco, CA 94123, 415-673-7422.

NEBRASKA—Demonstration at the Strategic Air Command Base in Omaha. Strategies and Actions for Conversion, P.O. Box 283, Omaha, NE 68101, 402-341-1218.

JULY 12

MASSACHUSETTS — Disarmament meeting in Waltham. See June 14.

JULY 15

CALIFORNIA—Clergy and Laity Concerned national assembly on "Militarism and Racism," through July 18 at LaVerne University. Southern California Clergy and Laity Concerned, P.O. Box 3820, Rose Bowl Station, Pasadena, CA 91103, 213-794-6578.

JULY 16

NEW MEXICO—Spiritual walk, convocation, workshops in Los Alamos to commemorate the anniversary of the Trinity test and the Churchrock spill. Vigil and fast at gates of Los Alamos Laboratory to continue until August 8. C/o Mishwa Lee, 412 West Buena Vista, Santa Fe, NM 87501, 505-983-2078.

JULY 17

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Conference/Retreat: "The Human Race vs. The Arms Race," through July 24. Geneva Point Center, Lake Winnipesaukee. American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, 617-661-6130.

NORTH CAROLINA—Training conference for nuclear freeze activists in Charlotte. See June 26.

JULY 20

MAINE—Film/discussion series at the Unitarian Church in Kennebunk. See June 15.

JULY 21

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Conference: "S.S.D. II," in Conway. World Fellowship, Route 16, Conway, NH 03860, 603-356-5208.

JULY 24

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Conference: "Cambridge and Nuclear Weapons," sponsored by Cambridge Peace Education Project, through

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July 25 in Conway. World Fellowship, Route 16, Conway, NH 03860, 603-356-5208.

NORTH CAROLINA — Training conference for nuclear freeze activists, in Durham. See June 26.

TEXAS—Annual Lonestar Alliance retreat, through July 26 at Lake Travis (advance reservation required). Texas Mobilization for Survival, 1022 West 6th St., Austin, TX 78703, 512-474-5877.

JULY 28

IOWA — Biennial national conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation: "Resistance and Reconciliation: Living at the Eleventh Hour," in Dubuque. Fellowship of Reconciliation, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, 914-358-4601, or 1100 Carmel Dr., Dubuque, IA 52001, 319-588-2351.

AUGUST 1

NEW HAMPSHIRE — Disarmament and peace exhibition: posters, artwork, films, speakers, through August 8 in Nashua. Nashua Peace Center, 7 E. Hartford Lane, Nashua, NH 03063, 603-889-0049.

OREGON—Rally at City Hall in Portland. See July 4.

AUGUST 4

CALIFORNIA — Disarmament retreat at Casa de La Maria in Santa Barbara, through August 7. Ecumenical Peace Institute, 942 Market St., Room 714, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415-391-5215.

WISCONSIN—Concert for nuclear disarmament with Bright Morning Star in Milwaukee. Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival, 1016 North 9th St., Milwaukee, WI 53233, 414-272-0961.

AUGUST 6

CALIFORNIA — "Target L.A.—The Art of Survival": performing and visual arts festival and Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days commemoration, through August 9. Alliance for Survival, 1503 North Hobart Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90027, 213-462-6243.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Action at the Pentagon, through August 9. August 6: dramatic enactment of Hiroshima bombing. August 7 & 8: pilgrimage to Germantown, Maryland, to the model of the Enola Gay, the bomber used at Hiroshima. August 9: blockade of all entrances to the Pentagon. Jonah House, 1933 Park Ave., Baltimore, MD 21217, 301-669-6265.

IOWA — Demonstration at the Rock Island arsenal. Davenport Catholic Workers, P.O. Box 3813, Davenport, IA 52802, 319-324-8431.

ILLINOIS — Public opening of "The Unforgettable Fire," show of drawings by Hiroshima survivors, through November. The Peace Museum, 364 West Erie St., Chicago, IL 60610, 312-440-1860.

INDIANA — Interreligious service at noon at Monument Circle in Indianapolis. SANE, 5630 Canal Blvd., Indianapolis, IN 46208, 317-253-1737.

MICHIGAN—Hiroshima Day antinuclear rally and parade at Houghton Veterans Park. Copper County Peace Alliance, P.O. Box 554, Houghton, MI 49931, 906-482-6788.

MINNESOTA — Demonstrations/vigils at every county seat. People for Survival, 1925 Nicollet, Suite 101, Minneapolis, MN 55403, 612-870-1501.

NEBRASKA—Commemoration of Hiroshima Day at Central Park Mall in Omaha. Omaha Pax Christi, 2104 Davenport St., Omaha, NE 68102, 402-345-0534.

NEW HAMPSHIRE — Four-day vigil at Monument Park in Nashua. Nashua Peace Center, 7 E. Hartford Lane, Nashua, NH 03063, 603-889-0049.

NEW YORK—Vigil at Columbus Circle in Syracuse. Syracuse Peace Council, 924 Burnet Ave., Syracuse, NY 13203, 315-472-5478.

OHIO — Prayer vigil and civil disobedience at uranium processing plant in Piketon, through August 9. Reverse the Arms Race Federation, 584 West Broad, Columbus, OH 43215, 614-221-3741.

TENNESSEE—Hiroshima-Nagasaki Days commemoration in Nashville, through August 9. Nashville Clergy and Laity Concerned, P.O. Box 90557, Nashville, TN 37209, 615-292-7607.

TEXAS—Town meeting in Austin to discuss military contracting, civil defense and related issues, through August 8. American Friends Service Committee, 1022 West 6th St., Austin, TX 78703, 512-474-2399.

AUGUST 6

NATIONWIDE — Television program: "How Much Is Enough?: Decision Making in the Nuclear Age." Public Broadcasting System. Check local television listings for time.

AUGUST 6-9

NATIONWIDE — Vigils, prayer meetings and demonstrations in communities throughout the country to commemorate Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days. Contact local chapters of groups such as American Friends Service Committee (215-241-7000), Clergy and Laity Concerned (212-964-6730), Fellowship of Reconciliation (914-358-4601), Mobilization for Survival (212-533-0008), War Resisters League (212-228-0450) and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (215-563-7110).

AUGUST 7

NEBRASKA — Nonviolence training for August 9 civil disobedience at the Strategic Air Command Base in Omaha, through August 9. Des Moines Catholic Workers, P.O. Box 4551, Des Moines, IA 50306, 515-243-0765.

NEW YORK—Peace march and vigil in Genesee Valley, through August 8. Genesee Valley Citizens for Peace, P.O. Box 363, Geneseo, NY 14454, 716-243-4000.

TEXAS — Citizens' hearings on nuclear weapons facilities, through August 8 in Amarillo. Expert and citizen testimony on economic, medical and moral implications of nuclear weapons facilities, followed by workshops. Clergy and Laity Concerned and Panhandle Environmental Awareness Committee, 2031C South Hughes, Amarillo, TX 79109, 806-373-8668.

WISCONSIN — March and rally commemorating Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, in Milwaukee. Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival, 1016 North 9th St., Milwaukee, WI 53233, 414-272-0961.

AUGUST 8

NEBRASKA — Demonstration at Central Park Mall in Omaha, followed by car caravan to Strategic Air Command headquarters. Mobilization to Save the Heartland, 962 Warder St., St. Louis, MO 63130, 314-726-4662.

NEW MEXICO — Continuation of convocation at Los Alamos. See July 16.

NEW YORK—Peace rally at Naval Park in Buffalo. Western New York Peace Center, 440 Leroy Ave., Buffalo, NY 14215, 716-835-4073.

WASHINGTON—Demonstration at the Klallam Indian reservation, Port Gamble, to protest the Trident submarine base in Bangor. Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition/Clergy and Laity Concerned, 4759 15th Ave., N.E., Seattle, WA 98105, 206-525-1213.

AUGUST 9

IOWA—Sixth annual Hiroshima-Nagasaki Days commemoration at the Iowa Statehouse, Des Moines. Consortium on International Peace and Reconciliation, 317 East 5th St., #8, Des Moines, IA 50309, 515-244-2253.

MASSACHUSETTS — Disarmament meeting in Waltham. See June 14.

NEBRASKA—Civil disobedience at the Strategic Air Command Base in Omaha. Des Moines Catholic Workers, P.O. Box 4551, Des Moines, IA 50306, 515-243-0765.

AUGUST 15

NORTH CAROLINA — War Resisters League Southeast organizers training program, through August 22 in Durham. War Resisters League Southeast, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701, 919-682-6374.

AUGUST 16

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Conference: "Grassroots Organizing for Peace and Disarmament," in Conway. World Fellowship, Route 16, Conway, NH 03860, 603-356-5208.

AUGUST 17

MAINE—Film/discussion series at the Unitarian Church in Kennebunk. See June 15.

AUGUST 19

OHIO — Democratic Socialists of America Youth Conference in Athens, Ohio, through August 22. Disarmament activist training. D.S.A., 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003, 212-260-3270.

AUGUST 21

VERMONT — March for jobs, peace and justice, and rally at the Statehouse in Montpelier. American Friends Service Committee, RD 1, Putney, VT 05346, 802-387-5732.

EARLY SEPTEMBER

ALASKA — Public symposium on new disarmament proposals in Anchorage. Alaska Defense Value and Nuclear Safety, 726 D St., Anchorage, AK 99501, 907-277-8341.

SEPTEMBER 11

CALIFORNIA—Annual peace activists gathering in San Francisco, through September 12. Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St., Room 708, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415-495-0526.

PENNSYLVANIA — Statewide nuclear weapons freeze conference in Harrisburg. Pennsylvania Nuclear Freeze Campaign, 315 Peffer St., Harrisburg, PA 17102, 717-233-3914.

SEPTEMBER 12

NEW YORK—"Peace, Disarmament, Justice and No Nukes" annual picnic at Corliss Lamont's estate in Ossining. Westchester Peoples Action Coalition, 255 Grove St., Box 488, White Plains, NY 10602, 914-682-0488.

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INTERNATIONAL

JUNE-SEPTEMBER

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY—"Mobile Fahradausstellung," a bicycle peace brigade from Wevelsfleth to Lüchow. C/o Pastor Friedrich Bode, Am Herzogenkamp 22, D-2800 Bremen 33, 0421-239-412.

JUNE 13

FINLAND—Nordic Peace Camp in Halikko, through July 4. Peace Union of Finland, Telegraphiste 6, 00520 Helsinki 12, 0-141-314.

JUNE 18

ENGLAND — Glastonbury Peace Festival, through June 20. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Worthy Farm Pilton, Glastonbury, Somerset BA4 4BY, 074-989-254.

JUNE 21

ENGLAND — Demonstration at British Army equipment exhibition in Aldershot, through June 25. Campaign Against the Arms Trade, 5 Caledonia Rd., London N1 9DX, 01-278-1976.

ISRAEL—International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, in Tel Aviv, through June 24. P.O. Box 29784, Tel Aviv 61297.

JUNE 24

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY—Peace march from Berlin to Vienna. Women for Peace, c/o Hildegard Klimmeck, Heylstr. 5, Berlin 62, 030-784-5793.

JUNE 28

AUSTRALIA—Australian Council of Trade Unions rank-and-file meeting to discuss a June conference on disarmament and hear reports from delegates to S.S.D. II, in Sydney. Association of International Cooperation and Disarmament, Box A243, Sydney South 2000, 02-264-6846.

JUNE 30

CANADA—Conference: "Women and Militarism," Grindstone Island Center, Portland, Ontario, through July 4. Grindstone Co-op, P.O. Box 564, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1, 416-923-4215.

ITALY—Festival/Peace Camp in Palermo, through July 4. Association of Italian Christian Workers, Sede Provinciale via 8, Castiglia 8, Palermo, or European Nuclear Disarmament office, London, 01-272-1236.

JULY

ENGLAND—Cycling trip to Vienna Peace Festival. Bike Events, 66 Walcot St., Bath, Avon, 0225-65-786.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY—Bicycle march for peace from Saarbrücken to Frankfurt. Christlicher Friedensdienst, Rendelerstr. 9-11, D-6000 Frankfurt 60, 0611-453-230.

JULY 2

BELGIUM — European Nuclear Disarmament conference in Brussels, through July 4, an international meeting that will bring together the signators of the END appeal. Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Bertrand Russell House, Gamble St., Nottingham NG7 4ET, 0602-784-504.

JULY 4

DENMARK — "East-West Dialogue on Peace and Security" at International People's College in Elsinore, through July 9. International People's College, Montevellow Alle 1, DK-3000, Helsingor, 02-213-361.

JULY 9

CANADA—Sixth annual Ploughshares summer workshop: "After S.S.D. II: What Next?" Grindstone Island Center, Portland, Ontario, through July 11. Project Ploughshares, 321 Chapel St., Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7Z2, 613-236-4547.

JULY 12

SWEDEN—Peace march from Stockholm to Minsk, through August 2. Women for Peace, Dronningensgade 42, 1420 Copenhagen K, Denmark, 01-350-114.

JULY 18

CANADA—Course: "Faces of Militarism." Naramata Centre, Okanagan Lake, British Columbia, through July 24. C/o Kathleen Wallace-Deering, 104-1955 West 4th Ave., Vancouver, BC V6J 1M7.

JULY 20

NETHERLANDS—Antimilitarist participation in "Vierdaagse" parade, an annual four-day hike organized by the military, in Nijmegen, through July 23. Aktiekomittee Vierdaagse, c/o Henri Rijs, Marnixstr. 117, 1015 VJ Amsterdam, 020-247-070.

JULY 23

AUSTRALIA—National meeting of nonaligned peace and disarmament groups in joint session with national coalition of anti-uranium groups, in Sydney, through July 25. Association of International Cooperation and Disarmament, Box A243, Sydney South 2000, 02-264-6846.

SCOTLAND—Peace march from Inverness to Edinburgh, through August 21. Scottish Campaign for Peace and Disarmament, 313 Byres Rd., Glasgow G12 8UH, 041-334-2720.

JULY 27

ITALY—War Resisters' International XVII Triennial in Spoleto, Perugia, through July 30. War Resisters' International, 55 Dawes St., London SE17 1EL, 01-703-7189.

JULY 28

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY—Nonviolent blockade of nuclear missile base in Grossengstingen, through August 12. Blockade Büro, c/o Horst Furtneer, Seelhousgasse 3, 7400 Tübingen, 07070-4401.

JULY 29

JAPAN—1982 World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. International Peace Meeting in Tokyo followed by convocations and rallies in Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, through August 9. Preparatory Committee, Nijon Seinenkan, 15 Kasumigaoka-Cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 03-402-9426.

AUGUST 5

ITALY—Peace festival in Comiso, Sicily, where the Italian government wants to deploy 112 cruise missiles, through August 9. CUDIP, c/o Via Isidora La Lumia 5/7, 90139 Palermo.

SPAIN—International Nonviolent March for Demilitarization through the Andalusian region of southern Spain and Gibraltar, through August 19. War Resisters' League, 55 Dawes St., London SE17 1EL, 01-703-7189.

AUGUST 6

AUSTRIA—Vienna Peace Festival, through August 9. Festival Office, Worthy Farm Pilton, Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England. BA4 4BY, 074989-254-470.

AUGUST 6 OR 9

CANADA—Civil disobedience action at Litton Systems, Rexdale, Ontario. Cruise Missile Conversion Project, 730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1C4, 416-532-6720.

AUGUST 7

JAPAN—International Peace Concert in Hiroshima. Association of Japanese Musicians Against Nuclear Weapons, 15 Kasumigaoka-Cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 03-492-9429.

AUGUST 13

KWAJALEIN—Referendum by landowners to determine whether they want to permit the United States to continue testing nuclear weapons on the islands. Send letters and cables supporting the demand that missile testing be stopped to Ambassador Fred Zeder, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C. 20520 and to Kwajalein Atoll Corp., Box 5220, Ebeye, Marshall Islands, 96970.

AUGUST 21

SPAIN—First Mediterranean Youth Peace Conference, in Valencia, through August 28. C/o Antonio Benetollo, F.G.C.I., Via della vite 13, Rome 00187, Italy, 06-678-4101.

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DOCUMENT.

An Open Letter To Americans

The following is an "Open Letter to the American People" from the West German peace movement, forwarded to us by Wolf-Dieter Narr, a professor of political science at the Free University in Berlin. —The Editors

The American Declaration of Independence was also a declaration of the rights of freedom and of the emancipation of humankind from an oppressive past. With their will to freedom, their liberality and their readiness to test what was old and dare what was new, the American people embodied for many Europeans a great hope in difficult times. North America not only provided a framework within which European culture and free thought could unfold, it also benefited Europe immeasurably by its intellectual, cultural and political stimulation. We address ourselves to that America of innovation and cultural progressiveness when we try to explain why we are for a new policy of peace and security differing from the official doctrines, and when we call on the American people to pursue this path with us.

The constant buildup of weapons of massive destruction since World War II raises the likelihood that World War III will be waged in Europe and that European peoples and cultures will be destroyed. But in all probability a nuclear war would not remain limited to Europe: it would develop into a major conflict in which many millions of Americans would also die and vast parts of the world would be destroyed. It is in European as well as American interests to prevent this. Therefore, it is important to understand that the efforts of the European peace movement are not directed *against* the American people but rather in solidarity with them.

The arms race during the past three decades has only made the United States, Europe and the countries of the Warsaw Pact less secure and more threatened. A further arms buildup—as foreseen in the NATO decision to station Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe and as pursued through countless measures of weapons modernization in the United States and the Soviet Union—raises rather than lowers the chance of war. The strategy of deterrence, pursued in both East and West, has entered a dead-end street. The gigantic armaments programs increasingly affect the social well-being and quality of life of Americans and Europeans as well as impede necessary aid for the Third World. We therefore need a new security policy and a new peace policy. Only a decisive reversal of the present direction of events can save us.

We Germans share the responsibility for this dangerous development. However, the growth of the peace movement, of which we consider ourselves a part, shows how awareness and readiness for a change of opinion and direction is on the increase. In this sense we are ready to draw some lessons from our past, which has forced on us a great burden of guilt for our part in two world wars. These wars arose in situations in which unrestrained competition for world influence and power, accompanied by a constant growth of arms, superseded the readiness for a peaceful solution of conflicts.

We cannot remove this guilt simply by confessing it, but we can deal with its consequences by reflecting on it anew and through responsible action. The Federal Republic of Germany lies at the point of greatest tension between East and West. This does not only mean that we are threatened; it also gives us a chance to contribute to a change of direction in the confrontation between East and West.

We are in search of a new policy of peace and security based on conflict resolution rather than confrontation. Since general worldwide disarmament, as negotiations over the decades have shown, apparently cannot be achieved all at once, as a first step we aim to halt the arms race in Europe. Therefore, we are in favor of disarmament and alternative armament policies on a regional basis. We call for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and reject every introduction of new or modernized weapons into Europe. We therefore welcome the efforts of the American nuclear freeze campaign and gladly offer any support we can. For our defense we want to use only those means that do not threaten the other side and we renounce the morally reprehensible use of weapons of mass destruction. By so doing, we withdraw from the leaders of the Warsaw Pact any basis for further armament measures that threaten us. . . .

Advocating these goals and striving for them will bring us into conflict with representatives of deterrence policies in government and military circles, in the West as well as in the East. Since it is our aim to reduce the use of force in the resolution of conflicts, we will try to overcome our own fears and act without resorting to violence. It is our unalterable principle to maintain autonomy vis-à-vis the deterrence policies of East and West, for we want to move the East as well as the West to a cessation of the arms race. We will therefore support with all the means at our disposal the activities of the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament.

In a world filled with violence and mistrust, work for peace is exposed to hard opposition. Nevertheless, we have no doubt that there is no escape from this danger: people in all nations, and especially in the most highly armed countries, must work together for steps toward disarmament. A reversal of the present trend is possible only with a great common effort against those interests that promote the arms race. Because the United States plays such a dominant role in the world, the cooperation and participation of the American people is of the utmost importance. Based on solidarity between the peoples of America and Europe, we say: let us in Europe and in the United States work together for an end to the arms race so that the world can still be a home for us and for those who come after us.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Muncie Protects Its Own

RICHARD LINGEMAN

I've got those typical American city blues.
Don't know when I'm supposed to get up or lie down,
What to say or how to act.
I've got to first read that book
That Middletown III,
And find out how I'm supposed to be.

—Charles F. Coldwater, M.D.
The Muncie Star, April 26, 1982

En route to a speaking engagement at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, during Middletown Week last April, a visitor was ambushed at the Indianapolis airport by a television newsman. "We're not going to talk about Middletown," the reporter said at once. "People there are sick of hearing all this Middletown stuff. *Time, Newsweek, Today* have all done stories on it."

Since Middletown Week was timed to coincide with the publication of *Middletown Families* (University of Minnesota Press), the first product of the Middletown III project (a continuation of the sociological studies by Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd in the 1920s and 1930s), and with the showing of the *Middletown* documentaries on the Public Broadcasting System, it would seem that Muncie has not entirely renounced the throne of typicality. After all, at the city gates there is still the sign proclaiming "Model Town, U.S.A. Welcome." And the Center for Middletown Studies at Ball State has compiled a nine-page bibliography of reactions in the Muncie press to the various Middletown studies; the extensive response suggests that in the past Munsonians have harbored a lively interest in their city's fame.

Certainly, the city takes pride in its role as the most studied American community, just as Dodge City boasts of being the Wickedest Little City in the West, or my own hometown, Crawfordsville, styles itself the Athens of Indiana—witness the calculated double-entendre of the "Model City" appellation. Theodore Kaplan, the wiry, articulate University of Virginia sociology professor who headed the Middletown III team, has said, "Being studied is something of a local specialty there; it's the one place I've never had the experience of being refused an interview."

Of course, fame has brought onions as well as orchids to Muncie's doorstep. The reviews of *Middletown* in 1929, for example, found much in the Lynds' study to confirm the criticisms advanced by Sinclair Lewis in his novels *Babbitt* and *Main Street*, and the terrible H.L. Mencken headlined his review of the book in the *American Mercury* "A City in Moronia."

Most Munsonians, though, are too busy with getting a living, making a home and the other "major life-activities" that the Lynds organized their studies around to read avidly their press clippings. Whatever flaps and local animosities the books stirred up in the past have been mellowed by time, and there were never protests on the scale of the one mounted by the upstate New York town that figured in Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman's book *Small Town in Mass Society*, perhaps the best community study since the Lynds'. After that unflattering portrait appeared in 1958, the town's Fourth of July parade featured a manure-spreader filled with the all-natural local product and carrying an effigy labeled "The Author."

Unlike Albert Blumenthal, whose *Small Town Stuff* triggered such a ruckus in his hometown of Phillipsburg, Montana, that the sociologist's father had to move, the Lynds returned to Muncie without incident in the 1930s to do a follow-up book, *Middletown in Transition*. The veteran Muncie columnist Dick Greene recalled recently that the "generally well-informed people" who had read the Lynds' books at the time had found them on balance favorable. "Some took exception," he was quoted as saying in *The Muncie Star*, "but it was like seeing yourself in a group picture and saying, 'That's good of you but not so good of me.' "

Television is another matter, apparently, for the subjects of one of the group portraits in the six PBS episodes on Muncie [see Gloria Emerson, "Muncie Business," *The Nation*, March 27] did not like the way they looked at all. When "Seventeen," a *cinéma vérité* evocation of the lives of some teen-agers on the city's Southside, was screened, school officials, parents and others slapped an unofficial "X" rating on it and threatened to sue. Whipsawed by these threats and by demands for changes from PBS, producer Peter Davis withdrew the film, which means that almost a year's work by the film makers, Joel DeMott and Jeff Kreines, may come to nothing.

A sociologist commented that the way Muncie suppressed the most unflattering film of the six without stirring up a censorship fight was a remarkable example of community action. But it should be said that opinion in the city was by no means unanimously in favor of suppressing "Seventeen." Mayor Alan Wilson, a whole-cloth backer of President Reagan, and State Senator Hurley Goodall, for example, favored airing the film. Although the Middletown III researchers concluded in *Middletown Families* that support for religion and the family is, if anything, stronger in Muncie than it was in the Lynds' time, the city is not a citadel of conservatism. "Adult" theaters and bookshops have been a fixture in Muncie since the 1960s, and the authors of *Middletown Families* quote a 1978 editorial in *The Star* on censorship: "That those who advocate legislation against pornography don't realize the immorality of what they are doing indicates that they are not really concerned about anyone. What they really want is to stop people from enjoying themselves." The authors also report that although adult attitudes toward teen-age sexuality are overwhelmingly anti-"permissive," more than a third of the teen-age females in the area were patronizing the local Planned Parenthood clinic in 1979. Certainly, one cannot say, as the Lynds did, that Muncie is still "afraid of sex as a force in its midst, afraid it might break loose and run wild."

So it would be wrong to attribute the outcry against "Seventeen" to a moralistic majority—especially since most Munsonians didn't even see the film. Rather, the protests were centered among Southside High School officials, alumni, students and their parents.

Richard Lingeman, executive editor of The Nation, *is the author of* Small Town America: A Narrative History, 1620-The Present *(G. P. Putnam's Sons).*

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Actually, according to Peter Davis, the film's troubles began when it was prescreened to PBS affiliates in early March. Davis's impression is that some of the affiliates threatened not to carry the program. Although he would not confirm this, PBS spokesman Dan Agan admitted that the public system had been concerned early on. According to Agan, "We heard via the grapevine" that the Xerox Corporation, which had anted up $400,000 of the project's total budget of $2.8 million (other patrons were the Indiana Committee for the Humanities, the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities), had problems with the profanity in "Seventeen." (Xerox subsequently canceled a print advertising campaign it had agreed to underwrite, and would have removed its name from sponsorship if Federal Communications Commission regulations did not prohibit such an action. Otherwise, however, the corporation kept hands off, and Davis said it came to his rescue with a last-minute $100,000 grant.)

Initially, PBS only asked Davis for a four-and-a-half-minute cut, involving a scene in which a high school boy boasts about his amorous conquests in graphic language. This sequence, which includes a cautionary tale on the hazards of making love in a stone quarry that should tarnish the idyllic image of that feature of the Hoosier landscape in the movie *Breaking Away*, struck me as an accurate representation of male braggadocio; equally telling is the boy's evident discomfiture when he realizes that his girlfriend has wandered up and overheard everything. Her strained, enigmatic smile throughout his recital suggests the gap between adolescent male and female sexual attitudes—as does, in a different way, the boozy colloquy between a boy and a girl during the "kegger," the entrance-fee beer party that is one of the film's highlights. The two are having a deep teen-age dialogue about going steady and decide they prefer to date others. He confesses: "I'm really shy. I put on a show at school." She says her mother accuses her of wanting "to go out and screw around," something she denies heatedly. Promiscuity is all right for a guy, she says, but "I don't do that crap."

Davis agreed to cut the male bragging scene but, according to Agan, that was only one of a number of problems that PBS had with the film, and further cuts were suggested "to make the program acceptable." Eventually, Davis found that the cumulative changes threatened the integrity of the film, and he refused to make them.

By this time, the Muncie forces had entered the picture, and their legal threats made the censorship question moot. The catalyst was Jim Needham, a tall, Lincolnesque, strongly religious man with an air of steely composure. Needham, who is station manager at WPIB, Muncie's public TV station, held a screening of "Seventeen" on March 8. Members of the school board and parents of some of the students portrayed were invited. There was nothing sinister about the screening in itself, since Needham had shown some of the other films to interested parties and, according to *Muncie Star* reporter Donna Douglas, the reactions to them were generally favorable. The showing of "Seventeen," however, lit a fuse of community opposition that would blow up in the film makers' faces.

"Shock" would be a mild word to characterize the sentiments of the audience at the first "Seventeen" screening. One man walked out a few minutes after the film started. (The opening scenes are set in a cooking class at the high school and show Lynn Massie, who is the central figure in the piece, and another girl directing obscenities at the teacher when her back is turned.) "That wasn't *anything* like it was supposed to be," summed up one school official. The general feeling was that the film makers had selected an atypical group of teen-agers, who flaunted their "deviant" behavior (sex talk, profanity, pot smoking, drinking, interracial dating) before the voraciously recording cameras. As another member of the audience put it: "Those responsible for the program apparently wanted to find the most notorious student in school and show us how she lived."

After the screening, Needham announced, "I have asked a number of people to review this program and comment on it. . . . Our option seems to be to run all of the series or none of it. And we cannot edit any of the programs." Moreover, he said, "Seventeen" would be shown to the rest of the country, and "I don't know that we would want to deprive the people of Muncie of the same information." He added that if he were to show it, he would tell the Muncie audience "that the program is not something produced locally and not

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necessarily typical [of Muncie]."

The word "typical" would loom large in the ensuing controversy; typical became, perforce, good, and atypical, bad. It was almost as if the objectors to "Seventeen" were employing their "typical city" image as a cloak to hide Muncie's faults. One is reminded of the Rotarian quoted in *Middletown*: "We don't want anything bad about the town to get out. When there's anything wrong with Middletown, people don't like to talk about it."

The issue of typicality surfaced long before the "Seventeen" controversy. At a symposium on documentary cinema sponsored by *American Film* last January, at which three of the Middletown films (not including "Seventeen") were screened, sociologist Theodore Kaplow mildly criticized "Community of Praise" because it dealt with an *outré* religious group. The film focuses on a couple and their children who belong to a charismatic Pentecostal sect that practices a rite of vomiting up the devil.

Kaplow, of course, was not suggesting the film be banned, and he complimented the film makers on their work, saying, "I'm always asked if Muncie is a typical place or an enclave of old-fashioned values. These skillful films, especially 'Family Business' [the story of pizza-parlor entrepreneur Howie Snider], really make that question moot. It's obvious that these people are human and American and typical." But Richard Leacock, who made "Community of Praise" with Marisa Silver, made a comment in the subsequent discussion that illustrates how the objectives of sociologists and film makers in search of art may diverge. Said Leacock:

> We were guided by no thought of typicality. Typicality would probably end up somewhere between the Baptist church, which is up in Muncie, and the Methodist church, which is a little bit down. And we found both types rather boring.

In the case of "Seventeen," the fissure between the film makers—who sought "interesting" subjects and some kind of coherent story, which required that they concentrate on selected individuals and dramatic events in their lives—and the expectations of school officials, parents and even the students in the film quickly widened into an unbridgeable abyss. Officials at the high school, which draws students from predominantly poor and blue-collar neighborhoods, said they had expected the film makers to show a positive image of the school—proms, basketball games, graduation, the traditional *rites de passage* of senior year. Instead, as Southside principal Jim Hedge put it, "They just did us in, just did us in."

The Muncie papers played up stories quoting students who said the film crews were so disruptive that they took to covering the omnipresent lenses with their hands; there was an implication that the students who cooperated (and ended up in the film) were the "show-offs." There were also charges of "chinese" shooting—employing a camera with no film in it—in the school, while the raunchier extracurricular scenes were assiduously recorded. Participants in some of the scenes—notably the "kegger"—said they had not realized that the footage taken would be part of the final film. There were even charges that the film makers "set up" the deviant or potentially violent acts depicted. Finally, school pride was involved. The city's two other high schools, Central and Burris, had been shown positively in other films; only Southside came out looking like a warren of juvenile delinquents.

Davis has strongly denied the charge that students were enticed into aberrant acts. "We never created or inspired or encouraged any of the behavior that we have portrayed in any of the six films," he told *The Muncie Star*, and he journeyed to Muncie to confront his accusers on a call-in television talk show, which drew a storm of telephone calls.

Having seen the film before its final editing, I can only offer still another view: Whether or not Lynn, the teenage protagonist, is typical of Southside students, she is not terribly interesting—sad, rather—an inarticulate girl. Unable to understand her own hostilities and aspirations, she seems driven by vagrant mood swings and the distractions of the moment. She is, to be sure, expressing her life in her fashion, and perhaps attention should be paid. Yet here we come to a weakness of *cinéma vérité*; one thinks of Andy Warhol's epicene exhibitionists prattling on the edge of self-destruction. Are we watching spectacle or art? Is this a clinical case history or an artistic excavation of the meaning of a life? The answer can only be that much depends

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on the film maker's skill—and luck in choosing the right subject. The documentary film maker Jack Willis raised this point at the *American Film* symposium. "It's all casting," he said, "as it is for any documentary. And you have to cast the unusual." To which Richard Leacock replied: "Not the unusual, the interesting."

Of course, too, the *cinéma vérité* film maker, dealing as he does with "found" moments in a life, is compelled to shoot miles of film and edit it down to a "story." Based on the version of "Seventeen" that I saw, I am not prepared to say that, with further editing, "Seventeen" might not have been vastly improved. There is much in it that could make it an important social document. Perhaps these teen-agers and the scenes filmed were not—I cannot avoid the word—"representative" of life at Southside High, but that does not mean their story should not be told. The film makers were trying to show the truth about the lives of some students at this underclass high school—and how the educational system failed them. Unfair to Southside? Perhaps, but a valid approach.

DeMott and Kreines are also portraying the darker side of adolescent *Sturm und Drang*, its destructive elements. Given the absence of either a fictional plot or a nonfiction narrative, these *aperçus* sometimes flash by before we fully grasp them; but they are there—at least in raw form. This lack of a sociological, journalistic or esthetic context seems to me a problem with *cinéma vérité*—or "slice of life" films, as Davis took to calling them in Muncie. Some of those attending the *American Film* symposium were disturbed to learn, for example, that Jim Carey, the glad-handing Irish politico in "The Campaign," was actually on the outs with the local Democratic organization and that crossovers to his opponent, Alan Wilson, probably caused his defeat. Should we have been given this information? Would it have made any difference in our appreciation of the film? Is *cinéma vérité* journalism or art or what? The film maker Tom Cohen, who also made "Family Business," seemed to lean toward the view that it was art: film as a personal statement. He said he had framed the narrative to reflect his own feelings about Carey, which evolved from initial hostility to sympathy. Believing that Carey would win, he conveyed this in his film.

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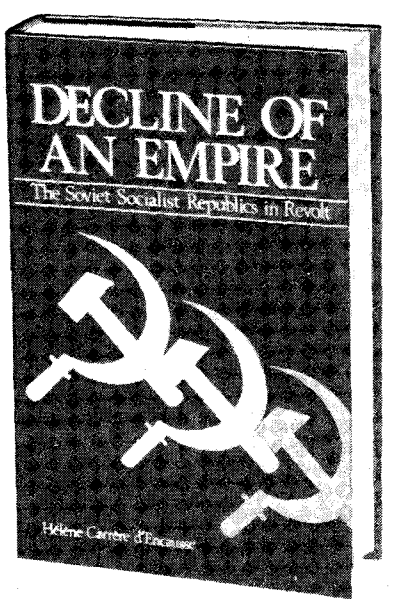

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Another issue besides veracity that "Seventeen" raised was only mutedly articulated by opponents of the film in Muncie. This was the matter of race—of the film being inflammatory because it includes scenes of interracial dating (including a long soul kiss between a black boy and his white girlfriend) and incidents of racial tension. But these scenes were integral to the life of the protagonist, Lynn. Her decision to date a black athlete serves as a catalyst for a series of vignettes that reveal the racial attitudes of the people involved.

Lynn lives in a white working-class neighborhood; nevertheless she does, in traditional fashion, bring John, her boyfriend, home to meet her parents. Later, a cross is burned on the lawn (the Ku Klux Klan is still active around Muncie), but, her mother comments, "If they'd known who we were, they wouldn't have done it." One gathers she means by this that she and her husband are not, shall we say, notable integrationists. Yet she cannot be counted a racist. This is how she describes her attitude toward blacks: "Some of 'em's niggers and some of 'em's black people. Just like some [whites] are white people and some are white trash." A potentially ugly racial incident arises when a black girl threatens Lynn because of her dating John. While Lynn nerves herself to fight, her mother rummages around in a drawer for her gun, remarking that it is unlikely that the black girls would come to their house because "this neighborhood isn't the best for black kids." Finally, two obviously concerned black youths advise Lynn to give up John because "he's just out for one thing." When she learns that he has fathered an illegitimate child, she decides that going out with him is "not worth the hassle."

As it happened, Southside High School had been plagued by an outbreak of racist slogans in the washrooms, all signed "K.K.K." (The perpetrators were caught and suspended.) Since the slogans had appeared throughout the school year, it's hard to believe that the film had anything to do with them. Indeed, the school's principal admitted as much, albeit grudgingly, when he said, "[They] could be related to the program, but I'm certainly hesitant to say there's a direct connection." And, for that matter, to the outsider it seems unlikely that there would have been no drunken "kegger," no pot smoking, no aborted gang fight and so on if the film makers hadn't been there. In short, the charges that the film makers "set up" scenes of deviant behavior seem to me to be scapegoating—blaming the messenger for his message that social ills by no means unique to Muncie exist there.

But, of course, as Davis himself says, the issue is not censorship—at least in any direct sense. What kiboshed the showing of "Seventeen" was the threat of lawsuits by the school and by the students and their parents. Invasion of privacy, "libel, slander, violations of constitutional rights and other illegalities" are what the parents' lawyer, Frank Brinkman, is prepared to charge in court if the film is shown. Initially, Brinkman was hired by Sherry Massie, Lynn's mother, who apparently had a change of heart about her and her daughter's appearances in the film after she saw it. Now, Brinkman says, he represents a large group of parents and children and has affidavits and videotapes by participants in the film proving "misrepresentation" by the film makers; the kids, he says, "were told one thing and another happened . . .

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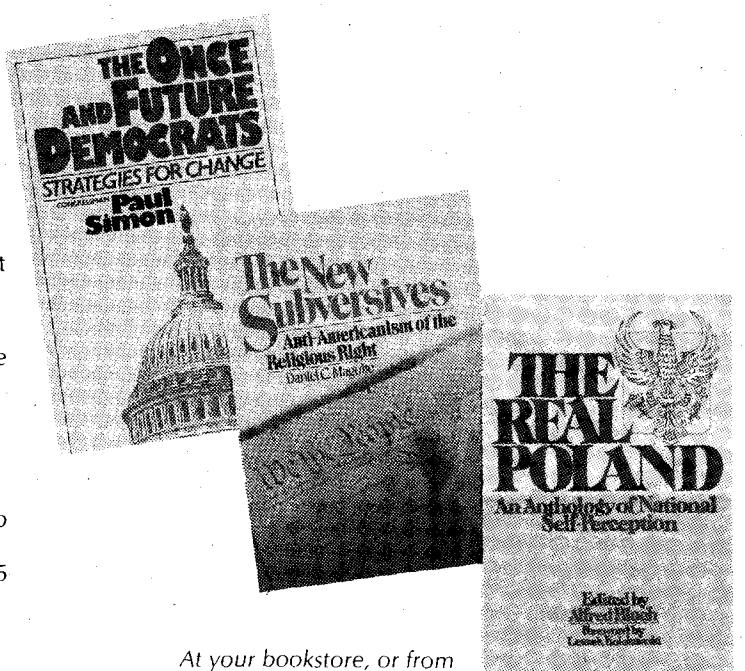

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they were led to believe that some things wouldn't be shown that were." Thus, the releases they signed did not constitute "informed consent" and, anyway, "a consent can be revoked." The "illegal conduct" in the film "came from the other side," i.e., the film makers.

So there matters stand, and truth, like the lawsuit, hangs fire. To make sure that PBS got the message, a delegation of Muncie school officials and lawyers, armed with the affidavits and videotapes, journeyed to Washington on April 18 and met in closed session with PBS officials. What happened at that session is now classified confidential, and Davis and PBS have informally agreed not to engage in any further public charges and countercharges. Upon his return to Muncie, however, Needham pretty well summed up what the delegation had accomplished: "Until today they thought they had the legal right to air their program. We presented them with some information that may indicate they don't and they're studying it."

Not long after the meeting, PBS announced that Davis had withdrawn "Seventeen" rather than agree to further changes that would make it "acceptable" and in compliance with PBS's programming standards. Davis says he hopes "Seventeen" will be shown someday, but he has no plans to fight a lawsuit against Brinkman and his clients: "Who wants to go to court against kids and prove them liars or bully them?" Brinkman claims that he will challenge the film wherever it is shown, saying darkly he had heard rumors of a screening in Texas. When I asked Needham if he felt that those opposing the showing of "Seventeen" bore an onus of censorship, he said they well might—"in the minds of people who don't know the facts." Those who understood that Davis had withdrawn the film in the face of the threatened lawsuit would believe otherwise, however.

There, reader, our story ends. All that is left to tell is what became of the other people in the *Middletown* series. Jim Carey, last seen brushing the tears of defeat from his eyes at the close of the mayoralty race, has patched up things with the Democratic organization and may run again. Since Muncie is a Democratic town with a staggering 19 percent unemployment rate, people give him a good chance of winning the second time around. And speaking of the second time around, David and Elaine, the hesitantly altar-bound couple in the documentary bearing that title, are still married (and there are those of a conservative temper who said "about time," since they had been living together for seven years); yes, Elaine had to go to work—and indeed was offered a job after the film was aired. Rick Rowray, the Muncie Central basketball star in "The Big Game," chose Indiana University from among the many colleges vying for his skills. He broke his arm, however, and sat out his freshman year. Phil Tobey, the husband in "Community of Praise," left his wife, Phyllis, after the film was completed, prompting a Muncie paper to headline "Middletown Woman Files for Divorce," thus translating her into sociological immortality. And Howie Snider, benevolent paternal despot and holder of a shaky Shakey's Pizza franchise, was about to ink a contract with Henry (Da Fonz) Winkler's production company for a television series based on his life. "Dad's going around like he's ten years younger," I heard one of the young Sniders tell a customer as I was waiting to order a House Special. Upon his return from a session with his lawyer, Snider said that business had doubled since the film was shown and that he had received more than 700 telephone calls from twenty-five states. As for the proposed series, "Money is not the bottom line," he said. "My only concern is that my family isn't hurt"—a concern, it could be said, that the Southside parents shared, in their fashion.

My luncheon companions at Shakey's were Kaplow, his wife and Prof. Dwight Hoover of Ball State, who a few years ago conceived the idea of a film series pegged to the Middletown studies, developed it with two colleagues, Joseph Trimmer and Warren Vanderhill, and passed the ball to Peter Davis, who had wanted to make a film about Hamilton, Ohio (he wrote a book about it, *Home Town*, instead, which also caused a local furor), but switched to Muncie because funding was available. Someone asked Snider if he had a good attorney, and he joked about his "country lawyer," who had identified himself as such in talking to a Hollywood counterpart. The Hollywood man shot back, "The last 'country lawyer' I dealt with took an arm and a leg off me." There may be a wider moral in that for big-city film makers and sociologists. The Lynds characterized Munsonians as sleepwalkers in an outworn American dream. That may be, but outsiders had best walk on tiptoe and observe the "Do Not Disturb" sign or they will find themselves with some aroused somnambulists on their hands. "Humankind cannot bear too much reality," said T.S. Eliot, and the intensely realistic lens that film makers point at society seems particularly capable of arousing the self-protective instincts of the species. □

A WILD PEACE

Not a peace of cease fire,
nor a vision of the lamb and the wolf,
but rather,
as in the heart after excitement,
to speak only of a great weariness.
I know that I know how to kill,
therefore I am grown up,
and my child plays with a toy gun
that knows how to open and close its eyes
and say "Mama!"
Peace without the noise of grinding
swords into ploughshares, without words,
without the sound of heavy seals;
let it be weightless
above—a white, lazy foam,
a rest for wounds.
Not even healing.
(Yet the orphans' cry is handed down
from one generation to another
as in a relay race: the baton doesn't fall.)

Yehuda Amichai

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ALAN WALD

WHICH SIDE WERE YOU ON? The American Communist Party During the Second World War. *By Maurice Isserman. Wesleyan University Press. 305 pp. $17.95.*

Maurice Isserman's *Which Side Were You On?* is a careful reconsideration of the American Communist Party from its successful use of the Popular Front strategy in the mid-1930s to its decline following Khruschev's revelations of the crimes of Stalin in 1956. Hardly an academic exercise, the book's clear and unpretentious style ought to appeal to a broad readership of radicals intent on the lessons to be learned from the generation of American Communists he examines.

The main facts about the party's changes during World War II are familiar. In 1939 the Hitler-Stalin pact exploded the American Communists' Popular Front alliance with liberals. For the next two years, until Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the party downplayed antifascism and demanded that the United States not intervene in the European war. Then, in a characteristic volte-face, it embarked on a patriotic campaign supporting U.S. intervention which involved endorsing the no-strike pledge and the internment of Japanese-Americans.

Finally, in an effort to assure America's rulers that Communists were completely loyal, party chairman Earl Browder announced in 1944 the abolition of the party itself; it was replaced by the Communist Political Association, an organization predicated on the idea of postwar harmony between classes. But only one year later, in April 1945, Moscow denounced Browder; following his subsequent expulsion, the party was reorganized under the leadership of William Z. Foster and adopted policies that eventually led to its isolation and disintegration.

The originality of Isserman's study is supported by new archival material and by interviews that provided him with details about changes and developments within the party and its affiliates. His work should be seen as part of an effort by younger historians—such as Paul Buhle, Roger Keeran, Mark Naison and Kenneth Waltzer—to challenge traditional histories of American Communism. Like Isserman, these historians are critical of the Fund for the Republic's project on "Communism and American Life," by Theodore Draper, David Shannon, Nathan Glazer, Clinton Rossiter and others, and of Irving Howe and Lewis Coser's *The American Communist Party: A Critical History*. Isserman is particularly distressed by the way these writers have depicted Communist Party members as "malleable objects" in the service of Soviet foreign policy. In response, he and his contemporaries want to show that there were times when the party was "flexible, imaginative, principled, rooted in neighborhoods and workplaces, and enjoy[ed] popular support."

Isserman also disagrees with New Left historians such as James Green, Nelson Lichtenstein, Staughton Lynd and James Weinstein who have criticized the party for its role in housebreaking the American labor movement during World War II. As a consequence, a good part of his book is devoted to defending Browder's wartime policies. He argues that " 'Browderism' held the potential for leading to something other than itself—sheltering and lending legitimacy to the efforts of those American Communists who had the capacity for and commitment to finding what would later be described as the 'American Road to Socialism'—even if in 1944 and 1945 taking any road to socialism was the last thing on Browder's mind."

A central achievement of *Which Side Were You On?* is that it manages to humanize the Communist movement and at the same time to be objective about the most controversial personalities and events of the period. Isserman is able to demonstrate that important differences of opinion existed within the party, and he shows how some members used the party for their own ends instead of being completely shaped by it. But nowhere does he offer evidence to challenge the basic analyses of those who emphasize the party's political dependence on Moscow. For

Alan Wald teaches American culture at the University of Michigan and is the author of James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years *(New York University Press).*

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example, he shows that in the late 1930s, Foster and Alexander Bittleman thought that a Hitler-Stalin pact was inevitable, while Browder believed it was impossible; that many party members were disconcerted by the pact and were relieved when it was ruptured; that the 1941 convention of the American Youth Congress refused to go along with the latest turn in Communist policy; and that in 1942, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn objected to the Communists' attitude toward women workers. But none of these episodes alter the fact that, in the end, party members either followed the political line that was handed down from Moscow or, like Browder, suffered expulsion.

Since he is in a unique position to do so, it is a shame that Isserman does not do more to help us understand how and why so many fine people—people characterized even by Howe and Coser as some of "the best of their generation . . . the most intelligent, selfless and idealistic"—could have behaved in this manner. He does offer a partial explanation when he suggests that there were "social bonds" that kept party members in check. In describing how the party membership voted unanimously to support the Hitler-Stalin pact, he notes that "Communists were a . . . highly concentrated minority. They tended to live in the same neighborhoods, they spent most of their social life with other Communists, and their children played together. Breaking with the party over the pact would have meant accepting a status as a social pariah."

The notion of the party as a community or even an extended family provides us with a far more plausible explanation of the membership's repeated acquiescence to the Moscow line than does the conventional metaphor of Communist politics as religion. Had Isserman pursued this idea further, he would have made a much broader contribution to our understanding of the American left, since the double-edged concept of "party loyalty," which can induce both self-sacrifice and servility, is a feature of so many left-wing organizations.

Instead, Isserman devotes the heart of his book to a defense of Browder's policies during the war. He calls the party's support of the no-strike pledge "a difficult but principled political stand," although he thinks Browder went too far in proposing that pay increases be dependent on productivity. And he tries to refute the criticism that Communists

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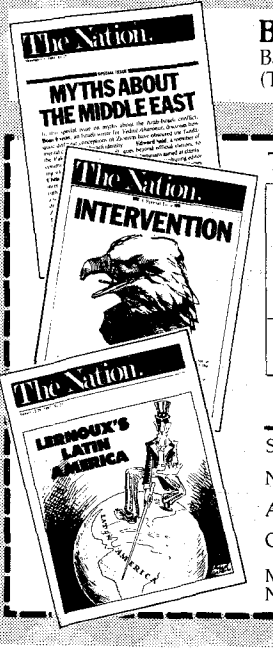

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"abandoned" or "suspended entirely" the struggle for black equality during World War II, claiming that all the party did was limit "its struggle for black rights to those areas that it believed benefited the war effort." But here, as in his response to the scholars who have stressed the party's subservience to Moscow, Isserman's arguments are too weak to be convincing.

To justify the Communist Party's labor policy he must accept the party's post-1941 depiction of World War II as a straightforward conflict between democracy and fascism. He ridicules the party's earlier position (1939-41) that it made no difference whether the fascist or the democratic capitalist nations were victorious, but in doing so he avoids the more difficult questions raised by revisionist historians such as Gabriel Kolko, who maintains in *The Politics of War* that "the American economic war aim was to save capitalism at home and abroad," and Howard Zinn, who argues in *A People's History of the United States* that World War II was, after all, an imperialist war.

As for Isserman's defense of the party's policy on the struggle for black rights, he may be correct that the party never "abandoned" the struggle; however, he has ignored a number of instances where the party acted against the interests of blacks and Third World peoples. These included not only the party's opposition to the black community's "Double V" campaign ("Victory over discrimination at home" coupled with "Victory over the Axis abroad") and its denunciation of the 1943 Detroit race rebellion as Nazi inspired but also its support for slashing the budget of the Fair Employment Practices Commission and its refusal to campaign in defense of the black sharecropper Odell Waller, who was electrocuted for shooting his white landlord in self-defense. He has also forgotten the party's demand that colonies of the Allies cease their struggles for national independence so as not to disrupt the war efforts of their imperialist masters. In his discussion of Communist policy toward segregation in the armed forces, it is unfortunate that Isserman chooses to quote James Ford's ambiguous statement in the October 1941 *Communist* that the "main task" must be "the destruction of Hitler," rather than Browder's unequivocal dictum in the March 4, 1945, *Sunday Worker* that the party's "studied policy" had been (and would remain) "to refrain from public discussion" of the issue of Jim Crowism in the Army.

Throughout *Which Side Were You On?* Isserman refuses to use a theory of Stalinism as a way of explaining the contradictions within the American Communist Party as it carried out the policies of its mentors in the Kremlin. To the contrary, the political conclusion of his book seems to be that if one excludes the Fosterites—whose heirs are said to control the party today—one would find within the party's pre-1956 ranks democratic individuals with "a deep feeling of patriotism," who under Browder almost transformed the party into a truly "democratic socialist" movement. But such a view is at best problematic, especially since the Communist Party today is, in many instances, still carrying out the same Popular Front policies embraced by Browder and the generation that left in 1956. Furthermore, Isserman never explains what he means by the ambiguous term "democratic socialist."

What exactly are the political lessons that Isserman wants us to learn from his book? He holds that the generation that left the party in 1956 bequeathed to us the lessons that "the American left could not be built on foreign models; that civil liberties and democratic institutions should be at the center of any vision of an American socialist future; and that Marxists had as much to learn from other political traditions as they had to teach about American political realities." But how much new and useful wisdom is contained in these general statements? A wide range of people—from revolutionary Marxists who follow *New Left Review* to conservatives who read the *New Leader*—could agree with these sentiments, depending on how they are interpreted; and, of course, these same opinions were articulated by liberals and socialists long before the "generation of 1956" came of political age.

Regrettably, Isserman is presenting a set of old political propositions as if they were a new beginning for healing the current fragmentation of the American left. One can only applaud his desire to find some basis for unity on the left, but one wonders what sort of unity he actually advocates.

The impressive achievement of this book is qualified in many respects because Isserman's political horizons

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are circumscribed by the very limitations that hindered the party members he admires. In short, he identifies too closely with the political trajectory of the 1956 generation. Their understanding of Marxism was so affected by their bitter experiences with Stalinism that many of them did little more than return to the same social democratic ideas they had once rejected. It is to Isserman's credit that he is able to draw our attention to their story; it is testimony to the political confusion of the present day that he fails adequately to assess this political odyssey for what it really was. □

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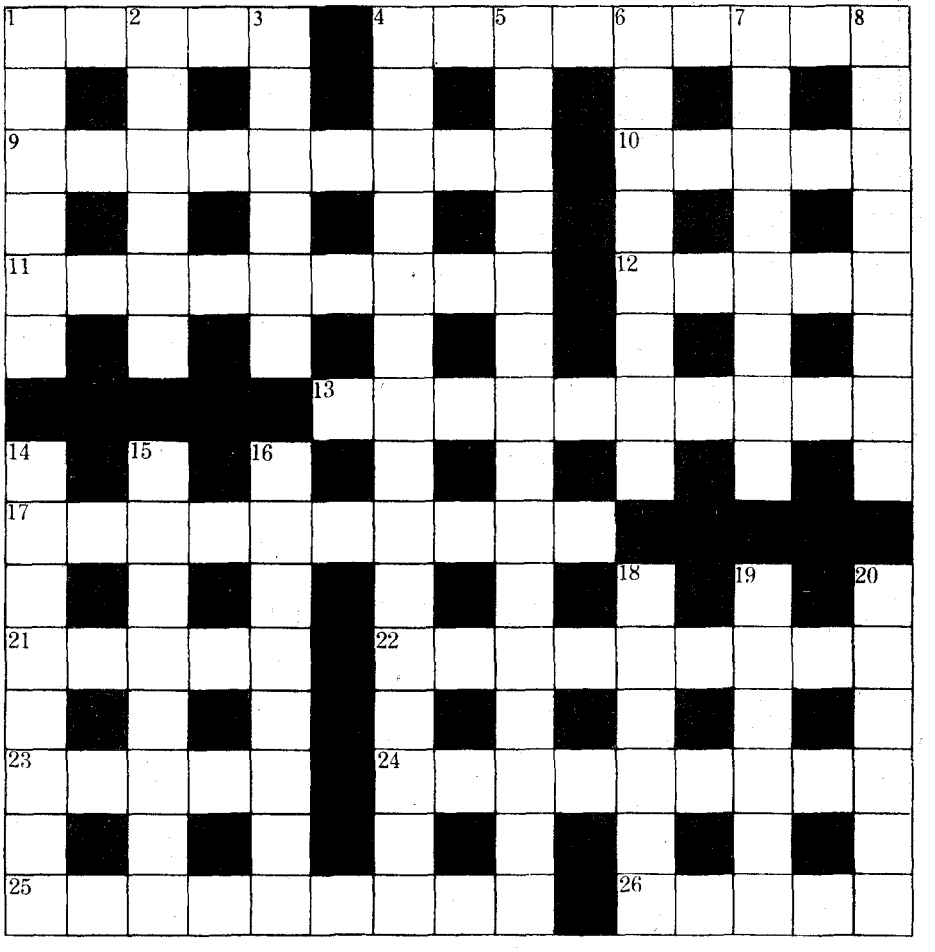

ACROSS

1 Regularly pursued course, or part thereof. (5)
4 Mixed brands, yet frequently presumed to be innocent. (9)
9 Well-known lady mail-carrier. (4,2,3)
10 One of these might be derelict, but not on TV. (5)
11 *Dolce, Tony*! It's bad with more than one on the bean. (9)
12 Foreign place where they live in a coma, possibly? (5)
13 The sort of chain store for retired people. (10)
17 Having a speaking acquaintance with something? (10)
21 Katisha was such a daughter-in-law. (5)
22 Is the main change found in the pills against such? (9)
23 Might imply a rope-end. (5)
24 Doctor I go to lots, perhaps; he'll probably look in my ear. (9)
25 Missed tea, mistakenly taken for coffee. (9)
26 An unready king lost a Red following for her. (5)

DOWN

1 Not a subject to disagree with! (6)
2 Byron's girl walked in it. (6)
3 Sings for the underground folk. (6)
4 Naval academies for the old grappling operations? Both sexes attend them. (8,7)
5 Doesn't suggest Newmarket as a place to get something for the watch. (6-4,5)
6 The locale of certain Irving tales. (8)
7 A fine beginning for a specialty store! (8)
8 It's what you get for stimulation! (8)
14 Investigated what stars are? (8)
15 Vestibule where the chips are down? (8)
16 Securities might be good in this, as religious men are. (8)
18 French word for a sort of tailless leopard. (6)
19 Tail-end of a painter's coat, perhaps. (6)
20 That's what you get for letting things out! (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1918

■	I	N	D	I	G	O	B	U	N	T	I	N	G	■
B	■	O	■	N	■	B	■	N	■	E	■	A	■	S
O	C	T	E	T	■	J	A	C	K	S	T	R	A	W
M	■	I	■	E	■	E	■	L	■	T	■	R	■	E
B	E	F	O	R	E	T	H	E	■	S	T	A	N	D
S	■	Y	■	V	■	D	■	■	■	■	■	T	■	I
■	■	■	D	A	M	A	G	E	D	G	O	O	D	S
S	■	B	■	L	■	R	■	A	■	A	■	R	■	H
T	R	A	N	S	I	T	I	V	E	L	Y	■	■	■
U	■	C	■	■	■	■	■	E	■	V	■	S	■	U
F	L	O	O	D	■	M	U	S	T	A	C	H	E	S
F	■	N	■	R	■	O	■	D	■	N	■	A	■	U
E	P	I	C	E	N	T	E	R	■	I	N	N	E	R
D	■	A	■	A	■	E	■	O	■	Z	■	S	■	Y
■	O	N	O	M	A	T	O	P	O	E	T	I	C	■

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